A COMMENTARY ON ST. AUGUSTINE'S 'DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA' BOOK 2, CHAPTERS 1-40

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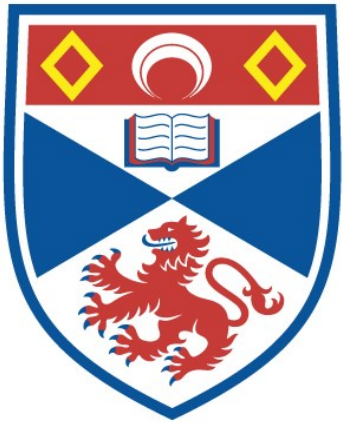

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ABSTRACT

A Commentary on St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana

Book 2, Chapters 1-40

The aim of the introduction and commentary is to explore the nature of the work, its sources and originality and the relationship of its pagan and Christian background, in addition to elucidating the text on certain points of content and language. The thesis is not, therefore, primarily a philological commentary.

The introduction (including the supplement) consists of seven sections:

A. The Date of the De Doctrina Christiana

B. The Place of the De Doctrina Christiana in Augustine's Thought

C. Augustine, Patristic Exegesis and the De Doctrina Christiana

1. The Aim of the De Doctrina Christiana

2. Augustine's Theory of Signs

3. Language

4. The Manuscripts

The conclusions are:

A. Books 1.3-3.35 were written in 396/7 and books 3.35 - end of 4 in 426/7. The prologue was probably written in 396/7.

B. It was quite natural for Augustine to begin writing on biblical interpretation and its presentation in 396/7 with his renewed interest in Scripture and to complete the work in his old age on discovering it unfinished.

C. Augustine follows the general patristic approach to exegesis whereby Scripture is interpreted literally and figuratively. The D.C. does not provide a formal source for the mediaeval concept of the 'Four Senses' of Scripture.

1. The work is aimed at anyone involved in the serious study of Scripture and the proclamation of the Gospel.
2. The theory of signs indicates that in terms of structure the work is typical of technical treatises in antiquity. As regards content of the theory, there are various similarities with classical authors: but, although none of these provide a basis for the whole theory, the relationship to the works of Varro is such that it seems a more adequate solution to posit the final part of his De Lingua Latina as a major source, rather than follow the line of other scholars who credit Augustine with more originality.
3. The language and style are 'literary' rather than 'popular'. The Christian idiom is most evident in vocabulary, as one would expect, when Augustine is writing about specifically Christian topics.

The commentary bears out these findings, showing Augustine making an eclectic choice between pagan and Christian elements to suit his own needs.

Section 4 of the introduction warns against paying too close attention to the stemmata of the CC and CSEL editions: contamination is such that any attempt to organise the relationships of the manuscripts must be treated with caution.

SUPPLEMENTARY INTRODUCTION

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A. The Date of the De Doctrina Christiana.

Towards the end of his life Augustine wrote the Retractationes. In this book he reviews his life's work from the Contra Academicos written in 386, when he was a young man of 32 beginning to think again about Christianity, to the De Correptione et Gratia written c.427, when he was in his seventies and had been a bishop for over 30 years. His purpose in the Retract. is to correct and emend his previous works and to show the development of his thought by placing them in chronological order[1]. In chapter 30 he refers to the D.C.:

> Libros de doctrina Christiana cum inperfectos conperissem, perficere malui quam eis sic relictis ad alia retractanda transire. Conplevi ergo tertium, qui scriptus fuerat usque ad eum locum, ubi commemoratum est ex euangelio testimonium de muliere, quae 'fermentum abscondit in tribus mensuris farinae, donec totum fermentaretur.' Addidi etiam novissimum librum et quattuor libris opus illud inplevi, quorum primi tres adiuvant, ut scripturae intellegantur, quartus autem, quomodo quae intellegimus proferenda sint.

From this statement it is clear that the D.C. was written in two parts and that Augustine broke off writing the Retract. to complete the D.C. Part one contained books 1 - 3.35.8 (fermentaretur), part two books 3.36 - end of 4. It is a matter of dispute whether the prologue was written with part one or part two[2].

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[1] cf. Retract. Pro. 3:

> Scribere autem mihi ista placuit, ut haec emittam in manus hominum, a quibus ea, quae iam edidi, revocare et emendare non possum. Nec illa sane praetereo, quae catechumenus iam, licet relicta spe, quam terrenam gerebam, sed adhuc saecularium litterarum inflatus consuetudine scripsi, quia et ipsa exierunt in notitiam describentium atque legentium et leguntur utiliter, si nonnullis ignoscatur vel, si non ignoscatur, non tamen inhaereatur erratis. Quapropter quicumque ista lecturi sunt, non me imitentur errantem, sed in melius proficientem. Inveniet enim, fortasse, quomodo scribendo profecerim, quisquis opuscula mea ordine, quo scripta sunt legerit. Quod ut possit, hoc opere, quantum potero, curabo, ut eundem ordinem noverit.

[2] See below (iii)

(i) Date of D.C. 1 - 3.35

A full discussion of the dating of this first part of the D.C. is contained in J. Martin's Preface to the C.C. edition[1] and in his article, 'Abfassung, Veröffentlichung und Uberlieferung von Augustins Schrift De doctrina christiana'[2].

The outside date for the completion of books one and two is c.400. The evidence for this is a reference in Augustine's Contra Faustum 22.91 to the D.C. 2.60ff[3]. As the Contra Faustum was written c.400[4], the first two books of the D.C. must have been completed by then.

There is further evidence for the date in the Retract. The three works which immediately precede the comments on the D.C. in Retract. 30 are the De Div. Quaest. ad Simpl. (Chapter 27), the Contra Epistulam Manichei (Chapter 28) and the De Agone Christiano (Chapter 29). Chapter 27 on the De Div. Quaest. ad Simpl. opens with the sentence:

> Librorum, quos episcopus elaboravi, primi duo sunt ad Simplicianum, ecclesiae Mediolanensis antestitem, qui beatissimo successit Ambrosio, de diversis quaestionibus, quarum duas ex epistula Pauli apostoli ad Romanos in primum librum contuli.

As it is generally accepted that Augustine was consecrated Bishop

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1 pp. VII-XIX.

2 Traditio 18 (1962), 69-78.

3 Contra Faustum 22.91:

> Quod vero expoliavit Aegyptios iussu domini dei sui, nihil nisi iustissime iubentis, quid praefiguraverit, iam in quibusdam libris, quos de doctrina christiana praenotavi, quantum mihi tunc occurrit, me recolo posuisse, quod auro et argento et veste Aegyptiorum significatae sint quaedam doctrinae, quae in ipsa consuetudine gentium non inutili studio discantur.

4 Greater precision is not possible. c.400 is Martin's date (Praef. p.VII; article cited above p.69), cf. W.M. Green, 'A Fourth Century Manuscript of St. Augustine' R Ben 69 (1959), 193 and P. Brown (Augustine of Hippo (London, 1967), p.184) who follow Zarb's dating of 397/8 (S. Zarb, Chronologia Operum Sancti Augustini (Rome, 1934)).

in 395[1], the De Div. Quaest. ad Simpl. and the other works mentioned above, including the D.C. part one, must have been written after the consecration date. If the reference to Simplicianus as Ambrose's successor is to be taken seriously and not merely as a post eventum courtesy title, then the terminus post quem for these works must become Ambrose's death on the 14th April 397.

Martin in his preface (p.XI) makes another suggestion about the date of books one and two of the D.C., referring to D.C. 2. 61.2-6:

> Nonne aspicimus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto Cyprianus et doctor suavissimus et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius? quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius, ut de vivis taceam?

From the names on this list of respected Christians who made use of pagan learning and Augustine's statement that he has not included living Christians who could also support his viewpoint, Martin concludes that Ambrose has been excluded because he was still alive when Augustine composed this passage. Therefore books one and two of the D.C. must have been completed before April 397.

J. Doignon[2] agrees with Martin's arguments and conclusions from this passage and suggests a further reason for the exclusion of Ambrose. He compares Augustine's list with the authors reprehended for their pagan methods and style by Jerome in

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[1] The Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine dates Augustine's consecration as 395. Although this is the generally accepted date, there are problems about its accuracy. For a full discussion see S. Zarb 'De anno consecrationis episcopalis sancti Augustini' Angelicum 10 (1933), 261-285

[2] '"Nos bons hommes de foi": Cyprien, Lactance, Victorin, Optat, Hilaire.' Latomus 22 (1963), 795-805.

Ep. 58.10 to Paulinus of Nola, written c.395. The two lists are the same with the exception of Tertullian and Arnobius, whom Augustine excludes because their authority as Christian writers is suspect, and Optatus, whom Augustine includes to compensate for the latter[1]. There is further similarity in that Jerome concludes his list with the comment:

> Taceo de ceteris vel defunctis vel adhuc viventibus, super quibus in utramque partem post nos alii iudicabunt.

Doignon concludes from these similarities that Augustine in the D.C. is replying to Jerome's statement in Ep. 58 and defending the authors against Jerome's criticism. The list is therefore dictated by Jerome and for this reason Ambrose is excluded. This viewpoint, tenable in itself, would nullify Martin's argument that Ambrose was alive when D.C. 2.61.2-6 was written. For, if the nature of the list was dictated by Jerome, Ambrose could equally well have been dead at the time of composition, though one might argue that had Ambrose been dead, Augustine would have included him with Optatus as substitutes for Tertullian and Arnobius on Jerome's list.

The argument for dating books 1 and 2 before April 397 is thus entirely dependent on Ambrose's exclusion from the list and the phrase ut de vivis taceam. It is a strong argument, given Augustine's admiration for Ambrose and his exclusion from the list, but it has to be weighed against the argument from the reference in Retract. 27 to Simplicianus as Ambrose's successor, which implies a date after Ambrose death in 397. The case cannot be proved either way, though the fact that Retract. 27 could be a post eventum courtesy title for Simplicianus is marginally in favour of a date between 395 and April 397.

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[1] cf. Diognon, op. cit., 803.

All that can be said with confidence is that D.C. 1-3.35 was written after 395 when Augustine became bishop, that books one and two were definitely written by the time of the Contra Faustum c.400 and possibly by Ambrose's death in 397 and that most likely 3.1-35 was also written by c.400 as these chapters belong to the first period of composition of the D.C. If one wants a more precise date, then the years 396 to 397 seem the most probable in the light of the above evidence. (For conciseness the commentary will refer to the date of D.C. part one as 396/7.)

(ii) Date of D.C. 3.36 - end of 4.

A full discussion of the dating of part two of the D.C. is contained in Martin's preface, pp.XVIIff. and in his article (op. cit.) 78f.

From Ep. 143.2:

> Si enim mihi deus, quod volo, praestiterit, ut omnium librorum meorum quaecumque mihi rectissime displicent, opere aliquo ad hoc ipsum instituto colligam atque demonstrem, tunc videbunt homines, quam non sim acceptor personae meae.

it is evident that by the time Augustine wrote this in 412[1], he had conceived the idea of a Retractationes. The terminus post quem for the Retract. and D.C. part two is thus 412.

In Ep. 224.2 written in 428 Augustine declares that he has received five of the eight books which Julian of Eclanum sent to Florus and comments:

> Retractabam opuscula mea ..... duo iam volumina absoluerem .... cum me etiam isti Iuliani libri occupare coeperunt.

As the Retract. was completed in two books, the terminus ante quem for the Retract. and D.C. part two is 428.

The period 412-428 may be further limited, as Martin suggests[2],

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[1] The dates for this epistle and for Ep. 224 below are Martin's (Praef. p.XVIII).

[2] Praef. p.XVIII.

to 421-428, on the grounds that after the completion of the Contra Iulianum in 421, Augustine would be more able to concentrate on other works.

At D.C. 4.53 Augustine mentions a sermon which he preached in Caesarea Mauretania "eight or so years before". As his visit to Mauretania took place in 418[1], book four of the D.C. must have been in the process of completion c.426-427, and it is probably that the whole of part two was written in these years.

(iii) Date of the Prologue

The problem is whether the prologue was written with part one or part two of the D.C. Neither Martin nor Green in their editions mention the problem of dating the prologue, but the question is fully discussed by U. Duchrow 'Zum Prolog von Augustins De Doctrina Christiana' Vigiliae Christianae 17 (1963), 165-172 and E. Kevane 'Paideia and Anti-paideia: the prooemium of St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana' Augustinian Studies 1 (1970), 153-180.

In the prologue Augustine answers possible objections to the main theme of the D.C. - the method of interpreting Scripture. There are three classes of objectors (Pro. 2):

(a) those who object because they do not understand the work
(b) those who object through an inability to apply the ideas outlines in the D.C.
(c) those who object because they think that true understanding of the Bible comes from divine illumination rather than man made rules.

The third group are obviously the most important, as Augustine replies to (a) and (b) in Pro. 3, then devotes the remainder, 4-9,

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[1] cf. Brown (1), p.283.

to the believers in divine illumination.

Duchrow (op. cit. 167) identifies this third group with Cassian and his monks, from Cassian's De institutis coenobiorum 5.33-34 where he speaks of the Abbot Theodorus and understanding the Scriptures. In this passage Cassian tells how Theodorus, a saintly man, but unschooled in Greek and scholarly studies, gained an understanding of the Bible by prayer and meditation. On this basis Cassian advises that it is more necessary to purify one's heart than become well educated to understand Scripture. Duchrow[1] notes the similarities between this passage and Augustine's stories in Pro. 4 of the Egyptian monk Antony and the slave Christianus. Antony, unable to read, committed the Scriptures to memory from listening to others reading them aloud and by meditation arrived at a thorough understanding: Christianus learned to read by praying. Duchrow concludes from this and from Cassian's emphasis on meditation and purity of heart instead of learning that Cassian and his monks are the objectors to whom Augustine refers: therefore the prologue of the D.C. must have been written with part two of the work, as Cassian's work dates to 420-424.

As the problem of the relationship of learning to Christianity is a perennial question amongst the Church Fathers[2], the passage of Cassian is not a prerequisite for Augustine answering such an objection in the prologue to the D.C. Thus there is no necessity to date the Prologue with part two[3].

Of Duchrow's other arguments in favour of a late dating for the

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[1] op. cit. 167, cf. Cassiodorus, Instit. Praef. 7 where the similarities are also noted.

[2] cf. Introduction 1.B

[3] cf. Kevane, op. cit., 176 note 60.

prologue:

(a) [1] The proposal that D.C. Pro. 7.7ff., which refers to Exodus 18. 14.26, is dependent on Quaest. Hept. 2.68ff. written c.419 argues more strongly for a late dating. There is a certain community of thought between the two, viz. why should Moses take advice from Jethro when God often speaks to him directly? However, the main point of Quaest. Hept. 68 is that this was God instilling some humility into Moses, whereas the main point of D.C. Pro. 7.7 is that all truth is God's truth, whatever the source. The points of similarity are such that they could reasonably be expected to be prompted by the text of Ex. 18.14-26 without assuming any more intimate connection. The points of difference do not encourage one to believe that the passages are necessarily interdependent.

(b) [2] The similarities in language and content between the prologue and the De Correptione et Gratia written c.426 are not sufficient by themselves to support Duchrow's case.

Kevane in his article [3] points out how the prologue ties in with the subject matter of books one and two, concluding from this that it was composed with part one. Unfortunately this argument cannot be taken as conclusive either. For even if the prologue was written in 426-427, it is only to be expected that as a prologue to the whole work it should tie in with books one and two.

There are two final points which bear some relationship to the dating of the prologue:

(a) If a first edition of books one and two appeared, would Augustine have published them without a prologue?

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[1] op. cit., 170.

[2] op. cit., 170f.

[3] op. cit., 167-177.

(b) If the manuscript L is a first edition, then as it contains the prologue the date of composition must be with part one of the D.C.

As far as (a) is concerned, the question of whether there could have been a first edition without a prologue can be satisfactorily answered. Book 1.1, although it starts off by baldly stating the subject matter of the work in the first two sentences:

> Duae sunt res, quibus nititur omnis tractatio scripturarum, modus inveniendi, quae intellegenda sunt, et modus proferendi, quae intellecta sunt. De inveniendo prius, de proferendo postea disseremus.

continues for the rest of the chapter with the type of apologia for the undertaking which is typical of a prologue. This is comparable with the De Civ. Dei which opens without a formal prologue. Thus a first edition without a prologue looks a strong possibility. However, the case in favour of L as a first edition, discussed below (iv), seems to me even stronger: the argument that a first edition without a prologue is a strong possibility does not mean that the prologue is incompatible with a first edition of books one and two or that the prologue must necessarily be excluded from such an edition. Therefore I consider it more probable that the prologue was composed at the time of the first part of the D.C. in the latter half of the 390s.

(iv) A First Edition of the D.C. and the Manuscript L

The arguments for a first edition of the D.C. containing the prologue and books one and two and the theory that the extant manuscript L is an example of this first edition are presented by W.M. Green 'A Fourth Century Manuscript of Saint Augustine?' R Ben 69 (1959), 191-197.

Green argues for a first edition on the grounds that:

(a) The reference to the D.C. in Contra Faustum 22.91 would have little point if the D.C. was not available to read at the same time.[1]

(b) As Augustine in the Retract. is reviewing his published works and makes corrections to book 2, it must have been published, i.e. there would be little point in correcting an unpublished work.

In addition it may be pointed out that:

(c) the 'mistakes' in D.C. 2.13; 2.43 still stand in all the extant manuscripts. If D.C. 2 had not been published previously, it is perhaps more likely that Augustine would have revised the text for publication of the whole work and that the revision would have percolated through to at least some of our manuscripts.

Green's arguments have been generally accepted as indicating a first edition containing part one of the work (books 1-3.35) but, as he himself points out, the counter argument is then put forward that no manuscript has been preserved of such an edition.[2] His reply to this objection is that Augustine is unlikely to have allowed part of a book to be published, therefore a first edition should not be expected to contain book 3.1-35. For, although it was common in antiquity for longer works to be published in parts, Augustine in Ep. 174 and Retract. 41 expresses strong disapproval about book 12 of the De Trinitate being stolen by admirers and published before completion. He is, therefore, unlikely to have allowed part of book three to be published. If the likelihood of

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[1] see above (i)

[2] cf. G. Combès' et J. Farges' edition of the D.C., Bibliothèque Augustinienne 11 (Paris, 1949), pp.151f.; H.J. Vogel's edition of the D.C., Florilegium Patristicum 24 (Bonn, 1933), p.IV; Green's article, p.193 note 2 for further references.

a first edition ending with book two is accepted, then the problem of finding such an extant manuscript may be satisfactorily solved by L, which contains the prologue and first two books.

The manuscript L (Leningrad Q v. I.3) is our oldest extant manuscript of Augustine, and E.A. Lowe has said of it, "The manuscript is certainly of the fifth century, if not older, and it may be that it was actually written in Africa".[1] Green wishes to date it before 426, on the basis that after 426 with the circulation of the Retract. and the whole of the D.C. no-one would want a copy of the shorter first edition. He adds a further consideration: as the four works which L contains are De Div. Quaest. ad Simpl., Contra Epistulam Manichaei, De Agone Christiano and the D.C., the first four works of Augustine's episcopate, united only by this common factor, the purpose of L could have been to provide a manuscript, a publication of Augustine's first works as a bishop.[2]

As with the other issues raised with regard to the date, in the case of L and a first edition, there is no conclusive proof. However, the combination of arguments in favour of a first edition and the probable date and the contents of L do seem to me to be strongly in favour of Green's hypothesis. In view of this I find it more likely that the prologue, which L contains, was written with the first part of the D.C. in the latter half of the 390s.[3]

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[1] A personal remark of Lowe's to Green, quoted by him in his article, p.191. For further references to descriptions of L, see comm. 21, p.122 and Green's article p.191, note 1.

[2] There is a parallel to the publication of a few of Augustine's works together in Paul. Nol. Ep. 3.2, where Paulinus remarks that he has been sent a small collection of Augustine's works by Alypius.

[3] It is worth noting that Green's discussion takes no account of the problem of dating the prologue and the relationship of this question to L as a first edition.

B. The Place of the De Doctrina Christiana in Augustine's Thought

The central theme of the D.C. is the Bible and its interpretation. In books 1 - 3 Augustine states the theological background (book 1) and the fundamental knowledge and principles necessary for interpreting Scripture (books 2 - 3): in book 4 he gives advice on the presentation of knowledge acquired from such biblical interpretation[1]. Any discussion of the place of this work in Augustine's thought must, therefore, concern his attitude to the Bible.

Augustine's relationship with the Bible is, not surprisingly, the story of his relationship with, and eventual conversion to, Christianity[2]. The Bible is at first the great stumbling block in the way of his conversion and then becomes the great inspiration of his life.

(i) 354-383 A.D.

Augustine's upbringing was Christian, thanks to his mother Monica, although his formal education was on the classical authors of the school syllabus (Vergil, Cicero, Terence and Sallust). From Conf. 3.7ff. we learn that in 373, at the age of nineteen, he read Cicero's Hortensius, which changed his life[3]. Till then his outlook had not been particularly spiritual or philosophical, but with the Hortensius he became inspired by the quest for 'Wisdom', a quest which was to last a lifetime and eventually turn him towards

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[1] cf. D.C. 1.1:

> Duae sunt res, quibus nititur omnis tractatio scripturarum, modus inveniendi, quae intellegenda sunt, et modus proferendi, quae intellecta sunt. De inveniendo prius, de proferendo postea disseremus.

[2] For a detailed study of Augustine's life see P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (London, 1967) on which the brief outline below is based.

[3] Conf. 3.7:

> .... et usitato iam discendi ordine perveneram in librum cuiusdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. Sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et vocatur Hortensius. Ille vero liber mutavit affectum meum, et ad te ipsum, domine, mutavit preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea facit alia.

Christianity. Quite naturally, given his upbringing, his first reaction on being inspired by the ideal of 'Wisdom' was to turn to the Christian Scriptures. They were a bitter disappointment. The Latin of the Bible was abhorrent to him after his education in the classical authors and the stories of the Old Testament struck him as earthy and immoral[1]. He rejected Christianity and for the next few years became a devotee of the Manichees, who promised a Christ who enlightened and 'Wisdom' which he sought, without the biblical tradition of Christianity which he found so offputting. By 382-383 Augustine, disillusioned with Manichaeism, was ready to move on and set sail for Rome.

(ii) 384-390

After only a year in Rome Augustine was appointed Professor of Rhetoric at Milan, where Ambrose, the man who was to change his attitude to Christianity, was Bishop. The most important thing which Ambrose did for Augustine was to help him overcome his abhorrence of the Bible by showing him the possibilities of giving a spiritual interpretation to the Old Testament:

> Gaudebam etiam, quod vetera scripta legis et prophetarum iam non illo oculo mihi legenda proponerentur, quo antea videbantur absurda, cum arguebam tamquam ita sentientes sanctos tuos; verum autem non ita sentiebant. Et tamquam regulam diligentissime commendaret, saepe in popularibus sermonibus suis dicentem Ambrosium laetus audiebam: Littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat, cum ea, quae ad litteram perversitatem docere videbantur, remoto mystico velamento spiritaliter aperiret, non dicens quod me offenderet, quamvis ea diceret, quae utrum vera essent adhuc ignorantem.
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> Conf. 6.6

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[1] cf. Conf. 3.9:

> Itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas, et videre, quales essent. ..... non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum attendi ad illam scripturam, sed visa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem.

In spite of the importance of the impact on Augustine of Ambrose's method of interpretation, the total picture of his conversion is not that simple. Augustine gave up his literary career in 386 and retired to Cassiciacum for a time with some friends to read, meditate and write books. His reading list at this time seems to have been a mixture of Plotinus and St. Paul and the books which he produced were philosophical rather than biblical theology, e.g. Contra Academicos; De Beata Vita; De Ordine. This was a trend in Augustine's thought which continued even after his baptism later in 386, until his ordination in 391.

(iii) 391-396/7

Shortly after his ordination in 391, Augustine asked Bishop Valerius for leave of absence to allow him to study the Scriptures[1]: in 392 he wrote to Jerome asking for Latin translations of the Greek commentaries on the Bible[2]. His ordination marks a change in attitude to the importance of Scripture, which is reflected in his writings. The Bible becomes not merely a tool for philosophical theology, but a work to be studied and written on for its own sake. By 392 the commentaries on the first thirty-two psalms had been composed and from then on biblical commentaries are a continual part of Augustine's literary output.

It is thus quite natural that shortly after being consecrated Bishop in 395 Augustine should start writing a work whose theme is biblical interpretation and its presentation[3].

E. Hill[4] puts forward a very specific suggestion as to why

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1 Ep. 21.

2 Ep. 28.2

3 On the date of the D.C. and its completion in two parts, the first in 396/7, the second in 426/7, see Introduction A.

4 'De Doctrina Christiana: A Suggestion.' Texte und Untersuchungen 81, Studia Patristica 6 (1962), 443-446.

Augustine should have begun to write the D.C. in the early years of his episcopate. He considers that Augustine's purpose in the D.C. is the 'fundamental task of raising the normal standard of clerical competence'[1] in interpreting Scripture and preaching. He links this view of the D.C. with Ep. 41 of Augustine's, dated to the early years of his episcopate and addressed to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage. In this epistle Augustine, after a long eulogy of Aurelius, agreed to comply with Aurelius' desire for him to read and correct priests' sermons and goes on to say that he is still waiting to hear his opinion on the seven rules of Tychonius the Donatist. From this Hill concludes that the eulogy concerns Aurelius' restoration of the Catholic Church in Africa over against the Donatists and that the D.C. was, accordingly, written at the direct request of Aurelius as part of his programme to build up the Catholic Church. As the 'Seven Rules of Tychonius' are referred to in detail in D.C. 3.42ff., i.e. at the beginning of part two of the D.C. written in 426/7, Hill also believes that Augustine laid aside book 3 to await Aurelius' reply on the 'Seven Rules of Tychonius', not wanting to risk quoting a Donatist favourably without his senior bishop's consent.

The idea that Augustine stopped the D.C. at 3.35 because he was awaiting Aurelius' reply on Tychonius is significant. It provides a satisfactory reason for Augustine discontinuing the work when he did and by the time he took it up again in 426/7 he would not feel the need of another bishop's support for quoting a Donatist. The request to look over priests' sermons may well have been the trigger for Augustine to begin a work on biblical interpretation and its presentation, but that the D.C. was written at the direct request of Aurelius' is speculation and the intended audience is greater than a limited audience of clerics[2].

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[1] op. cit., 444

[2] See Introduction 1: The Aim of the De Doctrina Christiana.

(iv) 396/7-426/7

In these intervening years between the writing of the D.C. part one and part two Augustine produced his major works. There were the Confessiones written between 397 and 401, the De Trinitate between 399 and 419, the De Genesi ad litteram between 401 and 414 and the De Civitate Dei between 413 and 427, as well as his works against the Manichees, his writings on the Donatist controversy and the bulk of his anti-Pelagian books. The Bible remained at the heart of Augustine's thought at this time. He continued to give biblically based sermons[1] and the Bible featured largely in the four major works mentioned above. This is obvious for the commentary on Genesis, but the last three books of the Conf. take the form of an allegorical exegesis of the opening of Genesis, the opening books of the De Trinitate are filled with scriptural references and the Civ. Dei by no means ignores the Bible, e.g. the central place of the story of Cain and Abel in book 15[2].

In terms of attitude to scriptural exegesis there is no significant change in Augustine's thought in these intervening years, apart from his eventual acceptance of Jerome's Vulgate O.T. by 415, which he had firmly rejected in favour of the Septuagint in 396/7 when writing the first part of the D.C.[3]

As to why he decided to finish the D.C. in 426/7, the prima facie reason which he gives in Retract. 30,that when he discovered the work unfinished he preferred to complete it before going on with his review

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1 cf. F. van der Meer, Augustine the Bishop (London, 1961), pp.405ff.

2 cf. Brown (1), pp.262f. and pp.320ff. on the relationship of these works to the Bible.

3 See comm. 21, pp.126f. and comm.22.5 on Augustine's attitude to the Vulgate. cf. T. Sullivan, De Doctrina Christiana Liber Quartus (Washington 1930),pp.14ff. for Augustine's use of the Vulgate O.T. in Book 4.

of all his other works, seems to need no further explanation[1]. For once having laid it aside in the late 390s, it is understandable that he lost sight of it amidst his duties as a Bishop, his problems with the Donatists and the Pelagians and all the other books which he undertook to write. And as he was 72 and nearing the end of his life by the time he was writing the Retract. in c.426, it is only natural that he should wish to complete this unfinished work when he came across it.

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[1] cf. Introduction A, p.I on Retract. 30.

C. Augustine, Patristic Exegesis and the De Doctrina Christiana

A consideration of patristic exegesis makes two points very clear:

(1) The D.C. as a work of which three books are devoted to principles of exegesis is unique in patristic exegesis. No other Father of the Church has commented on method in such depth, and principles of exegesis have to be discerned from comments in prefaces and exegesis itself.

(2) There are two senses of Scripture at the basis of all patristic exegesis - the literal and the figurative[1].

(a) The Literal Sense

The text of St. Paul which so impressed Augustine[2] when he heard Ambrose use it in talking of biblical interpretation:

> Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat.
>
> 2 Cor. 3.6.

might be described as the epitome of biblical interpretation for the Fathers. Yet it is equally evident that, however much emphasis they put on figurative interpretation, the Fathers had no intention of undermining the literal sense of the Bible[3]. Augustine, for example, in Civ. Dei 13.21 at the same time as expounding figuratively on the story of Adam and Eve makes it very clear that he believes the events in Genesis actually took place and condemns those who suggest otherwise[4]. Origen likewise

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[1] cf. H. de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, Les Quatre Sens de L'Écriture (Aubier, 1959), vol.1 p.416 where he states of this twofold formula in the patristic period, '..... la formule à deux termes, qui est la formule essentielle et primitive et qui demeure la formule permanente'.

[2] cf. Introduction B(ii)

[3] For a full discussion and many examples of the importance of the literal sense in the Fathers cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.425-487.

[4] cf. Civ. Dei 13.21:

> Quasi propterea non potuerit esse paradisus corporalis, quia potest etiam spiritalis intellegi.

makes statements about the literal truth of Scripture. In his commentary on Matt. 16.9-11, for instance, he declares that Jesus did heal the two blind men at Jericho as well as giving a figurative interpretation to the story[1]. Two terms, littera and historia were used virtually interchangeably by the Fathers to describe this literal sense of Scripture[2].

(b) The Figurative Sense

Although the Fathers were extremely tenacious in their attitude to the literal truth of Scripture, at the same time they sought something more in interpreting the Bible. Ambrose for instance declares:[3]

> Sed mysteria ipsius recenseamus historiae
>
> De Apol. Proph. David 6.34

and Augustine:

> Factum audivimus: mysterium requiramus.
>
> Tract. in Joh. 50.6

This attitude, amidst a background of a classical/pagan world equally interested in figurative interpretation[4], not surprisingly results in such a view predominating in the works of the Fathers almost at the expense of ignoring the literal sense of Scripture. Augustine, thus even in Civ. Dei 13.21, where he is emphasising the literal truth of the Paradise story in Genesis, declares:

> Nemo itaque prohibet intellegere paradisum vitam beatorum, quattuor eius flumina quattuor virtutes, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam atque iustitiam ....

and spends most of the chapter giving figurative interpretations of

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1 cf. R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (London, 1959), pp.236-9.

2 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 p.425.

3 cf. Jer. Ep. 52.10.

4 cf. comm. 7.15.

the story. And for Origen in his commentary on Matt. 16.9-11, the two beggars, however real they may be, represent Israel and Judah, and Jericho represents the world[1]. There were not, however, any specific rules for figurative interpretation: the Fathers enjoyed a "free for all" in such scriptural exegesis providing only that they conformed to the orthodox teaching of the Church in so far as that was defined[2]. A number of terms were used in the patristic period to refer to figurative interpretation, e.g. allegoria, anagogia, tropologia, spiritalis theoria etc. These were blanket terms meaning every interpretation which was not a literal one[3].

Henri de Lubac in the first volume of his work on Mediaeval Exegesis makes a detailed study of the Fathers, their views and use of terms for exegesis, in his search for the sources of the mediaeval doctrine of the 'Four Senses of Scripture'. This mediaeval doctrine has the same basic framework as is evident in the patristic period. For at its most basic it contains a twofold division of the literal and the figurative. The figurative sense, however, in this theory is subdivided into three.

(a) Allegory is the type of interpretation which finds hidden and mystical references in the Old Testament to Christ and to the Church[4].

(b) Tropology is the type of interpretation which draws a moral meaning for the individual from Scripture through figurative interpretation[5].

(c) Anagogy is the type of interpretation which refers figuratively

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1 cf. Hanson, op. cit., pp.236-9

2 cf. comm. p.89

3 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.418ff.

4 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.489-548

5 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.549-620

to the Second Coming, Christ in Glory, the New Jerusalem (i.e. eschatology)[1].

The categories are not mutually exclusive, but applicable to the same passage of Scripture.

De Lubac first of all attempts to find a similar theory in the Fathers. He is hindered by the lack of works on the theory of exegesis apart from the D.C., which understandably he does not consider seriously as its terms do not foreshadow the mediaeval doctrine. Clement of Alexandria and Origen are found to provide some specific statements on the theory of exegesis, but unfortunately these do not conform to the 'Four Senses'[2]. Augustine is also singled out for special study and in two works provides statements which at first seem relevant to the mediaeval theory[3].

(1) De Utilitate Credendi 3.5.

> Omnis igitur Scriptura, quae Testamentum vetus vocat, diligenter eam nosse cupientibus quadrifaria traditur: secundum historiam, secundum aetiologiam, secundum analogiam, secundum allegoriam... ... Secundum aetiologiam, cum ostenditur qua de causa vel factum vel dictum sit. Secundum analogiam, cum demonstratur non sibi adversari duo Testamenta, vetus et novum. Secundum allegoriam, cum docetur non ad litteram esse accipienda quaedam, quae scripta sunt, sed figurate intelligenda.

De Lubac himself is unconvinced by this text as a genuine source of the 'Four Senses', though certain mediaeval writers quote it favourably. There are two main difficulties. Firstly the implication in this passage and the examples following it that the terms refer to texts of different types, i.e. unlike the 'Four Senses' the categories are mutually exclusive rather than superimposed levels of interpretation. Secondly the fact that the

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[1] cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.621-681

[2] cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.171-177 and pp.198-207 respectively. On Origen's doctrine of the three senses, the 'literal', the 'moral' and the 'spiritual' see also Hanson, op. cit., pp.236ff. Origen often misses out the moral interpretation in practice and so conforms to the twofold division.

[3] cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.177-187

first three terms refer to the literal sense of Scripture and the mediaeval writers admit that the three figurative senses of their theory must all be covered by the term allegoria. De Lubac objects even to this by demonstrating that to obtain the meaning of allegory which belongs to the 'Four Senses' it is necessary to combine the terms analogia and allegoria[1].

(2) De Gen. ad Litt. 1.1.

> In libris autem omnibus sanctis intueri oportet quae ibi aeterna intimentur, quae facta narrentur, quae futura praenuntientur, quae agenda praecipiantur vel moneantur.

There is here a much more obvious correlation with the 'Four Senses', as the four relative clauses can be taken to refer to anagogia, historia, allegoria and tropologia respectively. The only distinction comes in the order in which they are placed, with anagogia at the beginning instead of the end. However, de Lubac considers this passage also to be an unlikely source for the mediaeval view. And while the interpretation is possible in retrospect, from the work it is more than probable that Augustine is talking about four types of subjects which the Bible treats.

After considering other authors de Lubac admits that there is no true parallel in the formal sense for the mediaeval doctrine[2]: none of the Fathers provide a theoretical statement which is comparable to the mediaeval conception. A major element of difficulty in his search for a source is that although the Latin forms of the technical terms mentioned above (historia/littera, allegoria, tropologia, anagogia) do appear in mediaeval writers and in the Fathers, they are not the only technical terms used by the mediaeval writers for the doctrine and in the Fathers they do not have consistently different

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[1] cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.180f.

[2] cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.415ff.

meanings, but often refer to figurative interpretation in general[1]. De Lubac thus comes to a more modest conclusion on the relationship of the Fathers to the 'Four Senses', believing that even if the formal doctrine does not occur in the Fathers, it is foreshadowed in practice in their exegesis and may be drawn from some statements on method. For instance he compared two passages in Jerome:

> Possumus tripliciter locum istum dissere: ... vel iuxta litteram ... vel iuxta spiritualem intelligentiam .., vel certe anima credentis.
>
> Comm. in Hiezechialem 10.33 1079ff.

and

> Debemus enim Scripturam sanctam primum secundum litteram intelligere ..; secundo iuxta allegoriam, id est intelligentiam spiritalem, tertio secundum futurorum beatitudinem.
>
> Comm. in Amos 2.4 196ff.

From this is drawn the reasonable conclusion that the first quotation enumerates the first three senses, the literal, the allegorical and the tropological and that the second quotation misses out the tropological and adds the anagogical[2].

Such a general conclusion on the foreshadowing of the doctrine of the 'Four Senses' is not unreasonable, especially as the two senses added to the basic and obvious division in patristic literature of the literal and the figurative are of the essence of Christian theology. In addition if one considers the practice of the Fathers in the light of the mediaeval doctrine, it can be seen that they were quite happy to see different layers of interpretation in the same passage, which meets another requirement of the theory[3]. However, it must be remembered that the theory is only foreshadowed in the

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1 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 pp.418ff.

2 cf. de Lubac, op. cit., vol.1 p.420

3 cf. below (c)

patristic period and does not appear *per se*.

(c) *The D.C.*

The method of exegesis set out in the *D.C.* is based on Augustine's theory of signs, which forms the structure of books two and three[1]. The divisions of the sign theory of prime import for exegesis are *signa propria* and *signa translata*. By *signa propria* are meant words or passages to be taken literally:

> Propria dicuntur, cum his rebus significandis adhibentur, propter quas sunt instituta, sicut dicimus bovem, cum intellegimus pecus quod omnes nobiscum latinae linguae homines hoc nomine vocant.
>
> *D.C.* 2.15.3-6.

By *signa translata* are meant passages to be taken figuratively:

> Translata sunt, cum et ipsae res, quas propriis verbis significamus, ad aliquid aliud significandum usurpantur, sicut dicimus bovem et per has duas syllabas intellegimus pecus, quod isto nomine appellari solet, sed rursus per illud pecus intellegimus euangelistam, quem significavit scriptura interpretante apostolo dicens: 'bovem triturantem non infrenabis'.
>
> *D.C.* 2.15.6-12.

Both *signa propria* and *signa translata* come under the headings *signa ignota* (cases where the interpretation is difficult through lack of knowledge) and *signa ambigua* (instances where ambiguity makes the interpretation difficult). All four subclasses of signa are discussed separately and in detail[2].

From this it is evident that in the *D.C.* Augustine is following the two major divisions in patristic exegesis of 'literal interpretation' and 'figurative interpretation'. The terms used, *signa propria* and *signa translata* are not the normal ones, even within the wide scope available, but this is easily explained. For the sign

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[1] cf. Introduction 2 on the sign theory.

[2] cf. pp.12 and 166 for a detailed explanation of the structure of the sign theory.

theory has a classical/pagan base and the terms are borrowed from there. The theoretical terms of the D.C. bear no direct relationship to the mediaeval doctrine of the 'Four Senses', but are firmly rooted in the twofold division of patristic literature.

It might be claimed that there is a certain foreshadowing of the mediaeval view in Augustine's thought in the D.C. The interpretation of Cant. 4.2, (D.C. 2.7.15ff.), for instance, in mediaeval terms is clearly allegorical, with this Old Testament passage being referred to the Church and the reference to the saints being seen as coming up from baptism bearing the two commandments of love could be taken as tropological. And in 2.25 on numerology there might be seen traces of all four senses in the interpretation of the number forty. For Augustine starts from the biblical references to Moses, Elijah and Jesus all fasting for forty days, which he obviously took literally from his general attitude to Scripture, though it is not explicitly stated here. The equation of Moses, Elijah and Jesus may be taken as allegory, with the reference of the Old Testament to the New. The factorisation of forty into four and ten which represent time and eternity may be interpreted as anagogy with the reference to eternity. The lesson to be drawn, that we are to abstain from any delight in time, may be considered tropology.

However, it must be noted that there is no such theoretical explanation by Augustine himself in a work where the principles and theoretical terms of exegesis are explicitly stated. The importance of the D.C. as a unique work of the period on the theory and practice of exegesis must not be forgotten. Augustine's conformity to the standard twofold division militates against seeing in it any clear foreshadowing of the later doctrine of the 'Four Senses'.

A COMMENTARY ON

ST. AUGUSTINE'S *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*

BOOK 2, CHAPTERS 1 - 40.

by

SHEILA ANNE ATKINSON

A thesis submitted for the degree of B.Phil., in the Department of Humanity, in the University of St.Andrews, in 1979.

THESIS

Submitted to the University of St.Andrews for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Arts, in which Faculty I have been enrolled as a full-time research student from October 1976 to September 1978, and as a part-time research student from October 1978 to April 1979.

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree of any other university.

Sheila Atkinson

STATEMENT OF SUPERVISOR

This is to certify that Miss Sheila Atkinson has fulfilled the conditions of the rules and regulations for the Bachelor of Philosophy.

R.M. Ogilvie.

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Aim of the De Doctrina Christiana

A. The meaning of 'doctrina'

The most obvious translation of the title, De Doctrina Christiana, to the English reader is 'On Christian Doctrine', but as is often the case, the most literal rendering does not convey an adequate sense of meaning. E. Kevane[1] discusses the difficulties in the English word 'doctrine' and believes that the problem lies 'in the passive sense that "doctrine" has come gradually more and more to acquire in the English language'. But over and above the difficulties of Augustine wishing to convey the twofold meaning of the activity of teaching and what is taught, there is a further difficulty in the connotations of the English 'Christian Doctrine'. For, in academic circles at least, this means a particular branch of theology and could be applied only to book 1 of the work, with books 2 and 3 coming more suitably under the label 'hermeneutics' and book 4 'homiletics'.

The meaning of doctrina in the ancient world, both pagan and patristic, is discussed in detail by both Kevane[2] and H.I. Marrou[3]: it is evident from their studies that the word includes the concepts of the activity of teaching and learning, and the body of knowledge imparted or acquired. The use of the word in Cicero and Quintilian, where there is an obvious link between doctrina and the educational system of the day, has led Kevane to catalogue the De Doctrina Christiana as an educational treatise and propose 'On Christian Education' as the English title. This cannot be accepted without a careful consideration of the work in relation to education in the patristic era and the implications in English of such a title.

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1 'Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana', Rec. Aug. 4 (1966), 122ff.

2 op. cit., 124 - 127.

3 'Doctrina et Disciplina dans la Langue des Pères de l'Eglise', ALMA 9 (1934), 5 - 25, cf. Marrou (1), St.Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique (Paris, 1938), pp.554ff.

B. Education

There were no Christian schools in the Graeco-Roman world in the first centuries of the Church's existence[1]: whatever the attitude of the educated Christian to his own schooling and pagan learning in general, there was no formal alternative to the pagan system. This can be easily exemplified from the Fathers who tortured themselves in the attempt to come to terms with the relationship of pagan and Christian culture. Tertullian could exclaim:

> Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae?
>
> (Praescr.7.9.)

declare doctrina saecularis litteraturae foolishness in the eyes of God and to be rejected by Christians and veto teaching as a profession for the Christian[2], but in the end he had to admit the necessity of a pagan education:

> Quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus divina non possunt?
>
> (Idol.10.4.)

> Litteras necessarias confitebor et commerciis rerum et nostris ergo Deum studiis.
>
> (Cor.8.2)

Likewise Jerome could have nightmares about being a Ciceronianus, non Christianus[3], and reiterate Tertullian:

> Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? cum evangeliis Maro? cum apostolo Cicero?
>
> (Ep.22.29)

> Quid Aristoteli et Paulo? Quid Platoni et Petro?
>
> (Adv. Pelag.1.14.)

Yet a programme of Christian education could be made out only for girls, as even the boys whom Jerome himself tutored in Bethlehem were educated

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1 W. Barclay, Educational Ideals in the Ancient World (London, 1959), pp.238ff.; H.I. Marrou (2), Histoire de l'Education dans l'Antiquité (Paris, 1948), pp.416ff., esp. pp.419 and 421.

2 Spect.17.6; Idol.10.1ff.

3 Ep.22.30.

on the pagan classics[1].

There was one instance in the fourth century when Christian schools would have seemed a natural outcome of the turn of events. In 362 the Emperor Julian banned Christian teachers from schools, in an attempt to re-establish the old pagan culture and religion. It is true that the edict did not ban Christians from being taught in the schools, but this was the interpretation of pagan writers on the period like Ammianus Marcellinus as well as Christian[2]. However, only a year later Julian died; the edict was rescinded by his successor Valentinian and the status quo re-established before any action was taken by the Christians to set up a separate system of education[3].

Augustine was no more in favour of pagan culture than any of his Christian predecessors or contemporaries. After his ordination in 391, his attitude to the classics undergoes a marked change[4]. He ceases to quote from pagan authors, except in apologetic works like the De Civitate Dei or to try and subject Christianity to the teachings of Neo-Platonism. By the time he wrote the Confessions at the end of the fourth century he had become opposed to the teaching of Vergil and the poets in schools, because of the deceitful lies in their stories about the heathen gods, and he considered the only value in the educational system was the basic

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1 See J.N.D. Kelly (1), Jerome (London, 1975), pp.273-275.

2 Amm. Marcell., 22.10.7, cf. Aug. Civ. Dei. 18.52. For further references, see Barclay, op.cit., pp.248ff.

3 In Laodicaea, a father and a son, both called Apollinaris and a grammarian and rhetorician respectively by profession, set out to replace the classical works which Julian's decree had in effect made inaccessible to Christians. The father replaced Homer by an epic in twenty-four books about the history of Israel down to the age of Saul and Menander, Euripides and Pindar by comedies, tragedies and odes based on biblical material. He also paraphrased the books of Moses and the historical books of the Old Testament in all different kinds of metres. The son took the Gospels and Apostolic writings and turned them into the form of Platonic dialogues. (Socrates 3.16; Sozomen 5.18.) This was the extent of attempts at Christian schooling in the face of Julian's decree.

4 see H. Hagendahl, Augustine and the Latin Classics (Göteburg, 1967), vol.2, pp.713-729.

teaching of the 'three Rs'[1]. He even goes so far as to remark:

> Didici in eis multa verba utilia; sed et in rebus non vanis disci possunt, et ea via tuta est, in qua pueri ambularent.
>
> (Conf. 1.24)

This attitude, and especially the last remark, at first seems to justify translating the title, De Doctrina Christiana, as 'On Christian Education' and expecting to find in it a reformation of the educational system. For in present day English the word 'education' is most readily associated with formal systems. There is no doubt that the work was seen in this light in mediaeval times and used as a handbook of Christian Education[2], but this does not seem to have been the light in which Augustine conceived it, however much one may argue that he would have liked to see a biblically based school curriculum.

At the beginning of the work, Augustine states quite clearly the type of person for whom he is writing:

> Sunt praecepta quaedam tractandarum scripturarum, quae studiosis earum video non incommode posse tradi, ut non solum legendo alios, qui divinarum litterarum operta aperuerunt, sed etiam ipsi aperiendo proficiant.
>
> (Prooem. 1.)

The work is thus clearly envisaged as being for all serious students of Scripture.

In book 1, he outlines two tasks in the study of Scripture:

> Duae sunt res, quibus nititur omnis tractatio scripturarum, modus inveniendi, quae intellegenda sunt, et modus proferendi, quae intellecta sunt.
>
> (1.1)

Books 1 - 3 deal with first of these, the task of understanding the Bible, and book 4 with the second, the presentation of the knowledge acquired. Books 1 - 3 are thus designed to be helpful to the student, book 4 to the teacher, though obviously the two categories are not mutually exclusive.

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[1] Conf. 1.23 cf. Book 1 passim for his attitude to his own education.

[2] cf. Kevane, op. cit., 110-112.

His subject matter and intentions are well defined: there is nothing to indicate that he intends to discuss 'education' per se.

It is the subject matter of books 2 and 4 which has led scholars to describe the work as an educational treatise. In book 2 he discusses the disciplines which are necessary tools for the biblical exegete and this leads to an excursus, which forms the second half of the book, on pagan knowledge and culture, stating which parts of these it is fitting for the Christian to appropriate. Within this, it is possible to discern the basic curriculum of pagan education in the fourth century being used as the framework for discussion[1]. Book 4 has its roots in rhetoric, the main subject of Roman tertiary education, and in spite of Augustine's own warnings is frequently described as a handbook of rhetoric, albeit a Christian one[2]. From this, in conjunction with sometimes tenuous external evidence, it is concluded that Augustine's intention was to put forward a new theory of educating Christians.

There are two opposing schools of thought about the relationship of the D.C. to a new educational system. Some, notably G. Boissier[3] and F.X. Eggersdorfer[4], maintain that it is a programme intended solely for the training of the clergy, others, like Kevane[5], that it is for all Christians, clergy and laity alike. The weight of external historical evidence is

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1 see comm. on chpts. 16-22 and 29.

2 cf. D.C. 4.2: Primo itaque exspectationem legentium, qui forte me putant rhetorica daturum esse praecepta, quae in scholis saecularibus et didici et docui, ista praelocutione prohibeo atque, ut a me non exspectentur, admoneo, non quod nihil habeant utilitatis, sed si quid habent, seorsum discendum est, si cui fortassis bono viro etiam haec vacat discere, non autem a me vel in hoc opere vel in aliquo alio requirendum.

For references to the discussion on the relationship of book 4 to rhetoric, see Kevane, op. cit., 105ff. For a detailed study of sources, see T. Sullivan, De Doctrina Christiana Liber Quartus (Washington, 1930).

3 La Fin du Paganisme (Paris, 1891), vol.1, p.243.

4 Der heilige Augustinus als Pädagoge und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Bildung (Freiburg, 1907), p.117.

5 op. cit., 121, cf. Marrou (1), pp.380-386.

against the latter interpretation. For if the intention was to set up a new educational system, it was of no effect until well after Augustine's lifetime, when the social situation had radically changed. There is no other record of Augustine attempting to use his influence in Africa to change the attitude that was prevalent in Tertullian or Jerome to pagan education. Kevane, indeed, is reduced to the argument that 'Catholic schools had to be conceived mentally before they could be built physically in order to exist as institutions that historians can document and describe'[1].

The former school have a slightly better case, though the Church did not have theological colleges or seminaries throughout its provinces as is the case today. Augustine himself had no formal training when he was seized by the people of Hippo for their priest in 391 while attending a service[2]. As Bishop, he did have a small number of men around him intending to serve in the Church, and this happened elsewhere[3]. Thus it is more plausible in the historical setting that the D.C. be regarded as a programme for training clerics, if it is to be considered an educational handbook.

None of these arguments, however, shows conclusively that the D.C. was intended as an educational handbook. Unlike the Confessions, it does not contain any direct statement against pagan schools, which one would have expected if he was proposing an alternative Christian system, and the clergy are not mentioned as the intended recipients of his work. It is too great an emphasis on book 4, which F. van der Meer calls 'A Handbook for Preachers'[4], which has led to the idea that the work is for the clergy. They are the most obvious target for a treatise about how to present the truths of Scripture, although this may not have been so obvious in Augustine's time, when it was rather the prerogative of Bishops to preach.

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1 op. cit., 130, f.n.150

2 see F. van der Meer, Augustine the Bishop (London, 1961), pp. 3-8.

3 see Marrou (2), pp.433f., 440ff.

4 op. cit., p.405.

It was the exception in the 390s when Augustine himself gave sermons as a priest and Jerome laments the fact that he is not allowed to preach, not being a Bishop[1]. On the other hand, too great an emphasis on book 2 has led to the belief that the work is about education. The strands of the normal disciplinae of pagan education which run through the book are as much a proof against Augustine envisaging a new Christian education, as for it. He is discussing pagan knowledge in these terms precisely because he is aware that most educated Christians would have been and would be brought up within the system. As P. Brown says, 'Augustine never faced the problem of replacing classical education throughout the Roman world. ..... Indeed, like many such "withdrawals" on Augustine's part, it tacitly took for granted the resilience of the old ways'[2].

To argue against describing the D.C. as an educational handbook is not to say that it is unconcerned with education, only that it is not the primary purpose of the work to form a new Christian system, for the clergy or laity. Obviously the clergy come within the category of those concerned with omnis tractatio scripturarum and obviously books 2 and 4 indicate the intellectual disciplines necessary for a proper study of the Bible and this is done in such a way as to be of use both to the educated and uneducated. For Augustine did not believe an education in the Liberal Arts necessary for all Christians. But his views on education are essentially an important excursus within the basic framework of the main subject matter, the interpretation and presentation of Scripture. The work is a treatise for all students of Scripture, clergy and laity alike. For, as his writings show, it was not only the clergy who were asking theological questions or studying the Bible seriously[3].

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[1] see van der Meer, op. cit., pp.6f.

[2] Brown (1), Augustine of Hippo (London, 1967), pp.267f.

[3] e.g. Ep.187, where his correspondent is the praetorian prefect Dardanus cf. Marrou (1), pp.384f. for further examples.

C. 'Une Culture Chrétienne'

This is the title given to the D.C. by Marrou in his work, St.Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique, where he states his view of the aim and purpose of the work. It is 'un traité en quatre livres consacré expressément à la culture chrétienne, de Doctrina christiana, oeuvre longuement méditée et mûrie où saint Augustin nous a exposé tout l'essentiel du point de vue auquel il s'est arrêté à la fin de sa vie sur la culture intellectuelle, sa place dans sa vie, son but, sa technique, ses méthodes .... Elle se resume d'un mot, celui-la même qu' Augustin a choisi comme titre pour l'ouvrage où il a traité ex professo du sujet qui nous occupe: doctrina christiana, une culture chrétienne ..... une culture entièrement consacrée à Dieu.'[1]

It is not necessary to dispute Marrou's view that Augustine is concerned with presenting his view of intellectual culture and its relationship to Christianity. But, as was the case with education, his statements about pagan culture, both intellectual and social, and the proper Christian attitude to them are a by-product of the main subject under discussion, the study of Scripture. It is not sufficient, therefore, to translate the title De Doctrina Christiana by 'Une Culture Chrétienne', either in terms of the content of the work or the meaning of doctrina.

D. Originality

The D.C. is often praised for its original or revolutionary qualities. The 'educationalists' can claim that a new theory of Christian education is being proposed and C. Mohrmann and Marrou[2] can say that 'the fourth book of De Doctrina Christiana can be called no less than revolutionary' as it is a new Christian Rhetoric, based on the Bible and the Fathers instead of

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[1] Marrou (1), pp. 332, 339 and 342.

[2] 'Saint Augustine and the Eloquentia', Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens (Rome, 1961), vol.1 p.358; cf. Marrou (1), pp.507-540.

Homer, Vergil, Cicero and the classical canon, as is the whole culture portrayed in the work.

Augustine, however, must not through retrospect be identified as a revolutionary in his aims or ideas. It was the effect of the work in the mediaeval world which was revolutionary rather than the ideas conceived in it. For Augustine's sources lie not only in the pagan classical authors, but also in the Fathers of the Church and the whole Christian tradition built up by his predecessors and contemporaries and summed up in the refrain of 'plunder the Egyptians'[1]. As far as style and language are concerned, his own writings and ideas do no more than express what had been the practice of Christian writers from Tertullian, when the influx of the educated classes into Christianity meant that 'Christian Latin' became affected by the classical language[2]. His attitude to education has been similarly shown firmly located in the traditional line, as is his attitude to pagan culture in general. And he himself acknowledges this debt, quoting in support of his ideas in book 2 Cyprian, Marius Victorinus, Optatus, and Hilary[3].

The roots of Augustine's originality in the D.C. are, for once, in his lack of psychological hang-ups; as Peter Brown describes it, he was able 'to transcend his education'[4]. Unlike Jerome, he did not continually suffer from a troubled conscience about his attitude to pagan culture and, in particular, pagan writings. He is consistent in his attitude and once it is clear to him that Vergil is not consistent with Christianity, he can state his view reasonably and hold on to it. This ability left him free to write a treatise on the interpretation and presentation of Scripture which could set out consistently and dispassionately the necessary pagan

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1 The same interpretation of Exodus 3.22 and 12.35-36 as occurs in D.C.2. 60ff. is found in Origen (Ep. ad Greg.2ff. = Philocalia 13 collected by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen) and Gregory of Nyssa (Vita Moysi 360.A-C).

2 cf. Introduction 3, Language.

3 D.C.2.61.

4 Brown (1), p.264.

tools for such an undertaking. Herein lies its originality. The thought itself is a product of Christian attitudes in the fourth and fifth centuries.

E. Conclusion

The subject matter of the work has been shown to be the study of Scripture, its interpretation and the presentation of the truths derived from it, and it is aimed at anyone involved in such study or proclamation. The word doctrina has been seen to indicate the activities of teaching and learning and the body of knowledge acquired or taught. Various suggestions for a translation of the title, De Doctrina Christiana, have been rejected as failing to reflect accurately Augustine's main intention as indicated in the prooemium and contained in the body of the work. The question still remains as to the significance of the title, and a suitable translation.

The concepts outlined above as coming within the scope of the Latin doctrina can be easily applied to Augustine's treatment of his theme. Book 1 is an exposition of the basic principles of Christian teaching (doctrine), the body of knowledge which is a prerequisite for the student of Scripture. Books 2 and 3 tell the student how to learn these truths from Scripture and gain an understanding of what the Bible teaches. Book 4 indicates how to present this material, or how to teach it. There is no adequate translation of the Latin as such in English. Perhaps the best solution is simply 'On Christian Teaching' which at least preserves the ambiguity of 'what Christianity teaches' and 'how to teach it', but the concept of the learning process is missing and so it seems best of all not to translate the title, but allow the Latin to speak for itself.

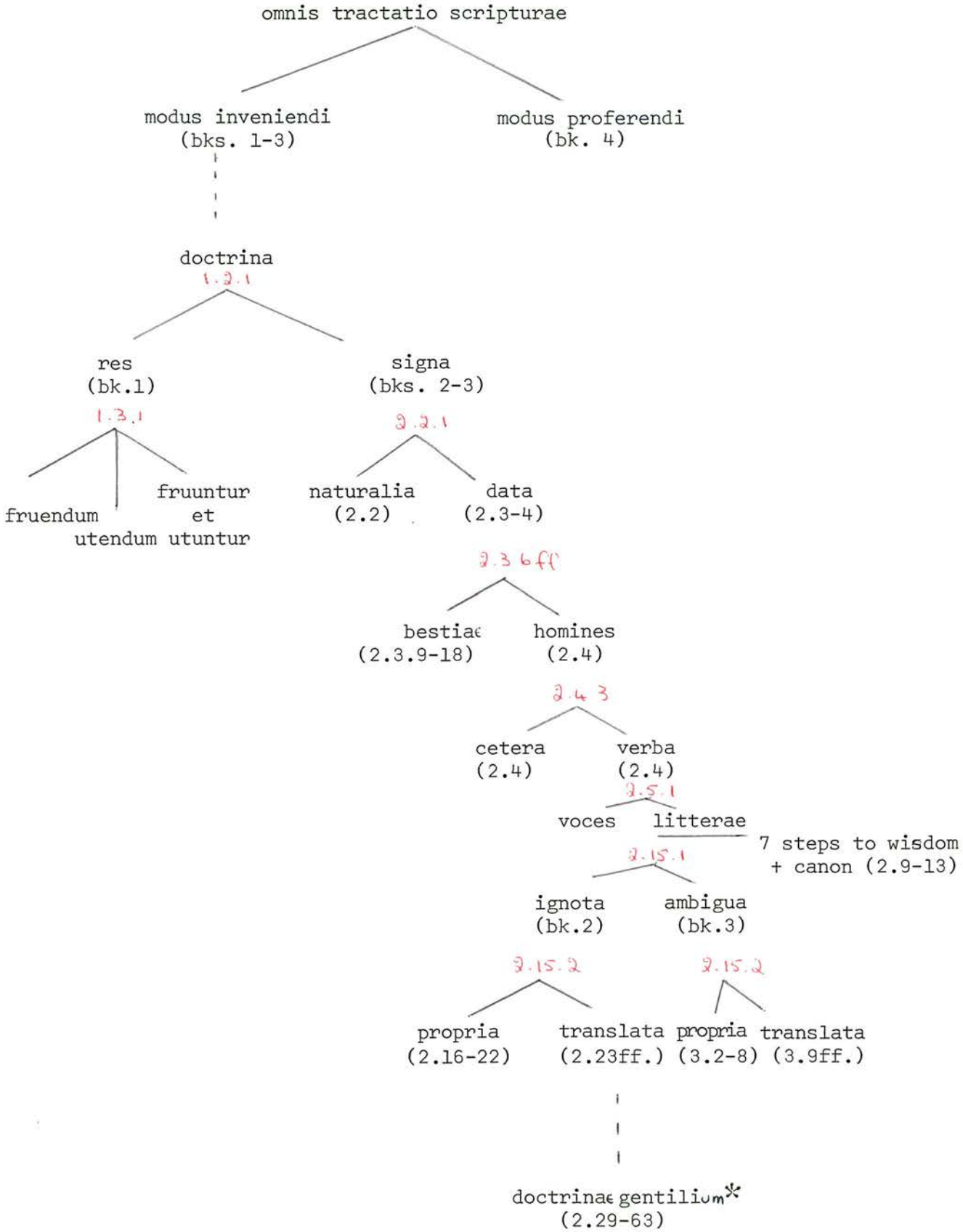
2. Augustine's Theory of Signs : its sources and originality.

The theory of signs is central to the structure of books 1 - 3 of the De Doctrina Christiana. In the prooemium and in chapter 1 of book 1, Augustine states that the subject of his work is Scripture and its interpretation. He then divides the discussion into an enquiry on the method of interpreting the Bible, which takes up books 1 - 3, and an enquiry into the method of presenting the interpretation, which he deals with in book 4. Books 1 - 3 are, therefore, concerned with the doctrine contained in Scripture, and in book 1, chapter 2 he defines doctrina:

> Omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum, sed res per signa discuntur.

The terms res and signa are further defined in the rest of the work and their definitions and subdivisions form the structure around which all the arguments of the first three books revolve.

The Structure of the De Doctrina Christiana



* see comm. 29.3 for similar structure of chpts. 29-63.

This type of divisio or partitio of the subject matter, illustrated in the diagram above, is common in technical treatises of both the classical and hellenistic periods. Its importance lies in the structure of the work being determined by the theory on which it is based: the divisions and subdivisions are not merely chapter headings for the sake of clarity, which one would hope to find in any written work. For unlike the narrative or linear structure of a novel or play, the divisions of tractatio scripturae are of prime significance in their relationship to one another as part of the theory about the interpretation of Scripture.

In works of the first century B.C. such as Varro's Res Rusticae and Vitruvius' De Architectura or in the first century A.D. Celsus' Libri Medicinae and in the second century Gaius' Institutiones, the same systematic structure as in the D.C. is evident. Varro, for instance, after stating that agriculture is an art with an aim and a scope, establishes his theory of agriculture, dividing it into four branches.

> Scrofa, Agri culturae, inquit, quattuor sunt partes summae
>
> (1.5.3)

Each of these is then subdivided into two and within this framework he discusses his subject in book one.

> De primis quattuor partibus prius dicam, deinde subtilius de octo secundis.
>
> (1.5.4)

The same method of subdivision is followed in the remaining two books, which causes P.J. Enk, in his article on Varro in the OCD (Varro, (2) Marcus Terentius, Rerum rusticarum libri III) to complain of 'the author's tiresome tendency to group subject-matter under various headings and divide these again into subdivisions'.

The fragments of other works of Varro including the De Lingua Latina, De Philosophia, Disciplinarum Libri IX and Antiquitatum Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum Libri XLI exhibit the same style, with the theory

determining the structure of the work. Augustine, therefore, is not being original in terms of form, but is following the usual pattern for a technical work[1]. He would have been familiar with this method of tackling such a subject from his reading of Varro, one of his chief authorities amongst the pagan writers, and he was certainly familiar with the works of Varro mentioned above[2].

The systematic division into genus/γένος and partes or species/εἶδος is apparent in general rhetorical and grammatical theory, as well as in the structure of individual works. The Greek grammarians Dionysius Thrax and Apollonius Dyscolus establish a theory of speech (λόγος) and its various parts (μέρη) which forms the structure of their works, and this is followed by their Latin counterparts with the same divisions of oratio and partes orationis.

In rhetoric the division goes back at least as far as Aristotle[3], though perhaps the most systematic treatment is in the pseudo-Aristotelian Rhet. ad Alex. 1421b. I quote Loeb text exactly:

> Τρία γένη τῶν πολιτικῶν εἰσὶ λόγων .....
> εἴδη δε τούτων ἑπτά .....

The structures of Greek rhetoric with their multiple divisions are, of course, taken over into Latin rhetorical treatises. Frequently, as in the grammatical works, the structure of the theory determines the structure of the work and the primary partitio is made explicit in the opening chapters. The most striking examples are the Rhetorica ad

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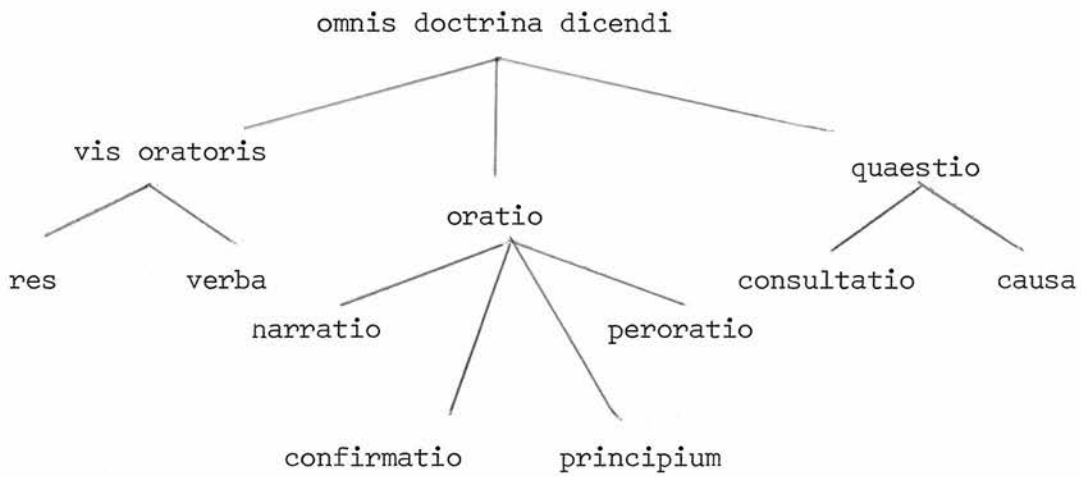
1 For a full discussion of systematic structural theory in antiquity and details of the works mentioned, see M. Fuhrmann, Das Systematische Lehrbuch (Göttingen, 1960).

2 On Varro and Augustine see section on Varro by B. Cardauns, in H. Hagendahl, op. cit., vol.1 pp.265ff.

3 The whole of the Rhetoric is an example of systematic structure, though it should be noted that the differentiation of the terms γένος and εἶδος is not used consistently throughout. In the opening chapters they are used indiscriminately, then at 1393a27 εἶδος is cited as a division of γένος.

Herennium and the De Partitione Oratoria. The latter is of particular relevance to the D.C. In general structure, with the principle of division and subdivision, it is similar to the D.C. and other treatises mentioned, cf. the following diagram of the contents of 1.1-4.



In addition, however, there are three places in these opening chapters where the similarity to Augustine is such that one feels it can hardly be accidental.

The first question which Cicero filius puts to his father about rhetoric is,

Quot in partes distribuenda est omnis doctrina dicendi?
(1.3)

Thus just as Augustine's first definition and division of the subject matter of books 1 - 3 concerns doctrina,

omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum
(1.2.1)

so does Cicero's, though he is able to limit himself to doctrina dicendi by the narrow scope of subject matter which he sets himself, instead of dealing with doctrina in general.

In the latter half of 1.3 Cicero describes vis oratoris, one of the three parts of doctrina dicendi, making a further two subdivisions. In

reply to the question, 'In quo est ipsa vis?', he says:

> In rebus et in verbis. Sed et res et verba invenienda sunt et collocanda. Proprie autem in rebus invenire, in verbis eloqui dicitur. Collocare autem, etsi est commune, tamen ad inveniendum refertur.

There are two similarities in this passage to the D.C., the division into res and verba and the distinction between the searching out of the facts and their presentation in words. Augustine, when he divides his subject into modus inveniendi and modus proferendi, is making the same distinction as Cicero between the research and the presentation. In his theory of signs his major concern is verba by which all other signs can be expressed:

> Nam illa signa omnia, quorum genera breviter attigi, potui verbis enuntiare, verba vero illis signis nullo modo possem.
>
> (2.4.22)

Thus the prime factor in the opposition of res and signa is the opposition of res and verba. In books two and three he makes an enquiry into verba as signa in order to find out about the facts (res) behind the words (verba), but in book four he discusses the presentation of the facts (res) in words (verba). In essence therefore Cicero's distinction of res and verba is the same as Augustine's within the whole of the context of the D.C., though not within the context of the sign theory of books 1 - 3 alone.

There are other passages in Cicero's rhetorical works where a similar comparison could be made. In De Or.1.145 Cicero uses doctrina in a discussion of the divisions of vis oratoris:

In his enim fere rebus omnis istorum artificum doctrina versatur.

The distinction of the enquiry and the presentation under the headings of inventio and elocutio are standard divisions in oratory, e.g. De Inv.1.9, and that of res and verba can also be paralleled, e.g. Tusc.5.32. Yet, the evidence weighs heavily in favour of the Part.Or. being the work which influenced Augustine most. For all three parallels noted above occur in

the first three sections of the Part. Or., while in the other works they are scattered, and there is a much closer similarity of the text and definitions to the D.C. The latter may be illustrated from De. Or.1. 142-145. In this passage the concepts inventio and doctrina are both mentioned. Inventio, however, occurs as one of the five parts into which vis oratoris is divided, compared with two in the Part. Or. and the D.C. As five is the standard division in Latin rhetorical treatises this is normally explained as a reduction of the normal fivefold division of inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria and actio by Augustine to the two on which Cicero laid most stress.[1] A reduction has indeed been made, but in view of the Part. Or. it seems more likely that the reduction was made by Cicero[2], not Augustine, and that the latter has chosen the twofold division because both it itself and the content of the passages in which it appears are better suited to his requirements in the D.C.

That Augustine was familiar with the Part. Or. can hardly be doubted. Rhetorical theory was part of his education in Africa and Italy and part of his profession while he was at Milan, and he would be familiar with textbooks on the subject. It is true that the Part.Or. is not noted amongst his numerous quotations from Cicero, but, on the other hand, the De Magistro written as a dialogue between himself and his son Adeodatus is so akin to it in form that it was probably modelled on Cicero.

Therefore, in addition to the more general influence of the technical treatises of Varro and others, Cicero provides a particular source in the Part. Or. for three of the technical terms in Augustine's theory and structure, modus inveniendi and modus proferendi, doctrina and res and verba. Unfortunately the relationship of Cicero's res and verba to

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[1] Hagendahl, op.cit., vol.2 pp.358f.; T. Sullivan, op.cit., p.44.

[2] In the Part. Or. a different method of rhetorical division from the De Inv. or Ad Her. is followed. Devised at the Academy (Part. Or. 40. 139), it is not reckoned to have had so much influence as the other rhetorical treatises.

Augustine's use of the terms cannot be pressed too far. In Cicero there is no mention of words as signs, far less a fully developed theory[1]. This is only to be expected as Cicero is writing a rhetorical handbook, while Augustine is making a philosophical distinction between verba and and res which they signify in order to show how Doctrina Christiana may be extracted from the words of Scripture. The Ciceronian parallel must be restricted to the differentiation of the doctrine and its presentation, apparent in books 1 - 3 and book 4 respectively, and another source sought for the sign theory of books two and three.

Sources for the theory of signs.

There are a number of inexact parallels for different parts of the theory.

A. The major subdivision of res and signa.

In three other works Augustine describes words as signs, De Trinitate 15.19-20, written around twenty years after the first two and a half books of the D.C., De Dialectica and De Magistro, both early works written in 387 and 389 respectively.

The most important of these is the De Dialectica, which contains a much fuller exposition of sign theory than the other two. Unfortunately, its authenticity is not above suspicion, as the earliest manuscript tradition attributes it to Chirius Fortunatianus. The issues are fully discussed by B.D. Jackson (Augustine:De Dialectica (Holland, 1975), pp.1-70). It seems most likely, however, that the work is the De Dialectica of Augustine, to which he refers in the Retractationes 1.5.6 as begun at Milan around the time of his baptism and forming part of his Disciplinarum libri.

In chapter 5 of the De Dial. a word is defined as a sign of any type

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[1] σημεῖον/signum are technical terms of both Latin and Greek rhetoric, but as part of a class of rhetorical argument.

of thing, and definitions of the terms res and signa are given:

> Verbum est uniuscuiusque rei signum, quod ab audiente possit intellegi, a loquente prolatum. Res est quidquid vel sentitur vel intellegitur vel latet. Signum est quod et se ipsum sensui et praeter se aliquid animo ostendit.

These definitions are very close to those of res and signa in D.C.1.2 and 2.1 cf. esp. 1.2.2:

> Proprie autem nunc res appellavi, quae non ad significandum aliquid adhibentur

and 2.1.5:

> Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire.

The sign theory of the De Dial. is developed in the remainder of chapter 5 and another three technical terms added, verba, dictiones and dicibilia. None of these terms occur in the D.C., but an exploration of their background provides a source for the De Dial. and is of some significance for the D.C.

Augustine distinguishes words spoken for their own sake which he calls verba and words spoken for their significance, dictiones. The distinction is illustrated from the beginning of the Aeneid, arma virumque cano. If a grammarian poses the question, 'arma quae pars orationis est?' arma is being used for its own sake and is a verbum, but taken in the context of the whole poem and as uttered by Vergil it is a dictio. The third term dicibile is neither the word, nor its meaning in a given context but that which the mind perceives and holds within itself.

The terms verbum and dictio are peculiar to the De Dial., but the trio of signum, dicibile and res is closely akin to three terms of Stoic logic, τὸ σημαῖνον, τὸ σημαινόμενον or τὸ λεκτόν and τὸ τυγχάνον. Sextus Empiricus Adv. Math. 8.11-12 describes these with reference to the proper name Dion. τὸ σημαῖνον is the sound 'Dion' which signifies (Augustine's signum), τὸ σημαινόμενον or τὸ λεκτόν is that which is

signified and which we apprehend in our thought (the equivalent of dicibile), and τὸ τυγχάνον is the object which exists outside, Dion himself (Augustine's res)[1].

Augustine would not, of course, have obtained this theory direct from Sextus Empiricus, but there is a strong possibility that it could have been derived from Varro[2]. The second book of Varro's lost Disciplinarum Libri was a De Dialectica: Augustine's work is also part of a series on the Liberal Arts entitled Disciplinarum Libri and generally believed to have been modelled on Varro[3]. The sign theory which can be paralleled in Stoic thought is a theory for dialectic. This is the Stoic term for logic which Pfligersdorffer[4] has shown was used by Varro as well as Augustine and Cicero. If Varro was in the habit of using the Stoic term, it is reasonable to suppose that his work on dialectic should also be influenced by Stoic philosophy.

There is a third point which has led scholars to believe that Varro is the source for Augustine on dialectic. Martianus Capella also composed a De Dialectica (Book 4 of his De Nuptiis) and studies

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1 The Epicurean theory of signs put forward in Philodemus' Περὶ Σημειώσεων (ed. P.H. and E.A. de Lacy, Monograph of the American Philological Association 10 (Philadelphia, 1941) adds nothing to the Stoic view as far as the D.C. is concerned: the main discussion in Philodemus' work is a defence of the Epicurean system of empirical inference against the attacks of the Stoics.

2 For the connection of Varro with Augustine's De Dialectica see Jackson op.cit., pp.2f.

3 cf. Hagendahl op.cit. pp.592f. On the general tradition of the liberal arts see Marrou (1), pp.211-235.

4 G. Pfligersdorffer, 'Zu Boethius, De Interp. ... nebst Beobachtungen zur Geschichte der Dialektik bei den Römern', WS 56 (1953), 137.

on this have shown that:

(a) the whole book has a Varronian structure and part of the subject matter and terms a Varronian source[1].

(b) there is significant correlation between Martianus' De Dial. and Augustine's, especially where there are probable Varronian echoes[2].

(c) where there is correlation between the two works it points to a common source rather than interdependency[3].

From these arguments it is clear that Varro as a source for Augustine becomes more than a possibility. The rest of the evidence cited above points to the De Dialectica as the work of Varro's on which Augustine relied for the sign theory, as well as chapters one

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1 cf. W.H. Stahl, R. Johnson with E.L. Burge, Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts (Columbia, 1971), vol.1 pp.104-115, esp. pp.110ff.

2 cf. Stahl, op.cit., vol.1 pp.112f.; Jackson's edition of Augustine's De Dial. p.122 note 3.

3 B. Fischer, De Augustini Disciplinarum Libro qui est De Dialectica (Iena, 1912), p.21:

> Ubi convenientia inter eos invenimus, talia sunt, ut ex uno quidem fonte delibata esse videantur, sed non ut alius ab alio descripsisse videatur.

cf. pp.21f. et passim for a comparison of the two by Fischer as well as Jackson and Stahl cited above.

It may be added that as Augustine is generally considered to be writing in 387 (cf. Jackson's edition of De Dial. pp.2f.) and Martianus between 410 and 439 (cf. F.J.E. Raby's article, OCD: Martianus Capella) these dates may seem to indicate Augustine's independence of Martianus. However the date of Martianus is extremely uncertain and suggestions have dated as early as 284-330 (though this looks unlikely), cf. Stahl, op.cit., vol.1 pp.12-16 for a full discussion. Thus the dates are of little use in discussing the question of interdependency versus common source and there is some justification for the lack of mention of Martianus' date in statements about the common source theory.

and two[1].

This sign theory for which there is a definite source in Stoic Logic and a probable source in Varro is unfortunately not wholly applicable to the D.C.: the latter contains only two of the three terms which have been discussed, res and signa, and develops the theory in a different way, with the concepts of signa naturalia and signa data. There is no exact parallel for the division of res and signa in the D.C. and one is left with two alternatives. It is possible to admit the significance of the De Dial. and its sources, but claim that Augustine has built up an original theory suitable to his aims in the D.C., based on these related works. Alternatively, there may be a source for res and signum which is not now extant. The first five books of the De Lingua Latina are a possibility. Varro's works were well known by Augustine, the De Lingua Latina is of the right genre and subject matter to include a theory of signs and there is the probability that Varro had used a sign theory for dialectic. If Augustine can be supposed to have adapted his sign theory from dialectic for the D.C., it is just as likely that Varro could have done so for the De L.L. Before reaching any final conclusion, however, it is necessary to examine the evidence for the rest of the sign theory and not merely base judgements on the sources for the

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[1] There has been some doubt and disagreement upon which work of Varro's, Augustine's De Dialectica is based. The editions of G. Goetz and F. Schoell, De Lingua Latina quae supersunt (Leipzig, 1910), fr.130, pp.234-6 and H. Funaioli, Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta (Leipzig, 1907), vol.1 fr.265 pp.278-80 are uncertain which work to attribute it to. R. Reitzenstein, M. Terentius Varro und Johannes Mauropus von Euchaita (Leipzig,1901), pp.69-80 suggests book 1 of the De Lingua Latina, while B. Fischer, De Augustini Disciplinarum Libro qui est De Dialectica (Iena, 1912), esp. pp.52f. and 62f., argues against this for Varro's De Dialectica. In the context of the works of both authors on the liberal arts, the suggestion of De L.L. need not be taken seriously and their is no doubt that the De Dialectica must have priority. It makes more sense to suggest that the De L.L. may have contained a sign theory similar to the D.C., which is not designed for dialectic.

res/signum division.

B. Signa naturalia and signa data

At the beginning of the De Interpretatione, Aristotle discusses words as symbols of the affections of the soul and written words as symbols of the spoken word. He continues with a theory about language in which parts of speech are established by convention rather than by nature:

> Ἐστι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα, καὶ τὰ γραφόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ .....
>
> Τὸ δὲ κατὰ συνθήκην, ὅτι φύσει τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν γένηται σύμβολον, ἐπεὶ δηλοῦσί γέ τι καὶ οἱ ἀγράμματοι φόφοι, οἷον θηρίων, ὧν οὐδέν ἐστιν ὄνομα.

There are a number of similarities between the language and thought of Aristotle in this passage and Augustine's discussion of words as signs under the subdivision signa data in chapters 1 - 5 of the D.C. The whole of the De Interp. is concerned with communication through words: in Augustine's theory of signs, words are supreme:

> Sed innumerabilis multitudo signorum, quibus suas cogitationes homines exerunt, in verbis constituta est.
>
> (2.4.20f.)

For both authors words are signs or symbols. In writing, they are signs of the spoken word, which the letters symbolise:

> Sed quia verberato aere statim transeunt nec diutius manent quam sonant, instituta sunt per litteras signa verborum.
>
> (2.5.1f.)

Or, if one is talking about the spoken word, both agree that it symbolises the affections or movements of the soul or mind. Augustine declares that the signs used by men signify motus animi sui and again when discussing signa naturalia, such as the face of an angry man in 2.2.7f., the sign is described as a sign of affectio animi. Both of these phrases are comparable with Aristotle's τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθήματα.

On the surface there is also some correlation between signa data and τὸ δὲ κατὰ συνθήκην and signa naturalia and the reference to φύσις.

For Aristotle claims that nouns, parts of speech, are established by convention (κατὰ συνθήκην) not by nature (φύσει), while Augustine describes words as signa data, which more than one translator has called 'conventional signs', as opposed to natural signs. There is, however, one crucial difference between the two theories which the translation 'conventional signs' conceals, and which makes the more literal 'given signs' preferable[1]. In Augustine's theory the factor which distinguishes signa naturalia and signa data is voluntas. Natural signs are involuntary, given signs are deliberate:

> Naturalia sunt, quae sine voluntate atque ullo appetitu significandi praeter se aliquid aliud ex se cognosci faciunt, sicuti est fumus significans ignem .....
> Data vero signa sunt, quae sibi quaeque viventia invicem dant ad demonstrandos, quantum possunt, motus animi sui vel sensa aut intellecta quaelibet. Nec ulla causa est nobis significandi, id est signi dandi, nisi ad depromendum et traiciendum in alterius animum id, quod animo gerit, qui signum dat.
>
> (2.2.1-4; 2.3.1-6)

This distinction does not occur anywhere in Aristotle and the concept of will is not mentioned in the De Interpretatione. The Aristotelian distinction of nature and convention is a theory about the logical relationship between words and a part of the anomalist / analogist theory of language[2].

This major difference between Aristotle and Augustine does not mean that the passage should be discarded in looking for a source for Augustine. The similarities of thought and expression outweigh the differences, in the sense that the passage in Aristotle could have provoked the development into the theory found in the D.C. either by

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[1] cf. J. Engels, 'La doctrine du signe chez saint Augustin', ed. F.L. Cross, Studia Patristica 6 (Berlin, 1962), 366-373. He argues against the translation 'conventional sign'.

[2] There was a great controversy in the ancient world between the Anomalists and the Analogists. Language was found to have some regular systems and some irregularities in these systems and thus two different schools of thought grew up. Varro in De L.L. 9.23 admits that both sides have some valid argument.

Augustine himself, who is likely to have read the De Interpretatione in translation of Marius Victorinus[1], or by Varro.

There is also a passage in Priscian which may throw some rather obscure light on Augustine's voluntas. At the beginning of his work he defines vox in the same way as Augustine in chapter 5. This is followed by a definition of articulate and inarticulate voice:

> articulata est, quae coartata, hoc est copulata cum aliquo sensu mentis eius, qui loquitur, profertur. inarticulata est contraria, quae a nullo affectu proficiscitur mentis.

An 'articulate utterance' is one which meshes with and stems from the mind of the speaker, an 'inarticulate utterance' does not come from the mind, but is like the lowing of cattle or other sounds made by animals, as Priscian says in the following passage. From the negative definition, of an 'inarticulate utterance' a nullo affectu mentis, and the example of the cries of animals, the conclusion must be that inarticulate noises are involuntary. Articulate utterances on the other hand are brought forth a sensu mentis. In Latin philosophy the mind is the controlling factor of the soul:

> ... [mens] cui regnum totius animi a natura tributum est.
>
> (Cic. Tusc. 3.11)

Thus from the definition of articulate utterances, these must be deliberate or voluntary. The distinction made by Priscian, therefore agrees with Augustine's voluntas as the determining factor between signa naturalia and signa data.

It must be admitted that Priscian, unlike Augustine, preserves a sharp distinction between the sounds of animals and the sounds of men: all animal noises are inarticulate, all noises made by man are articulate. Augustine is uncertain whether or not some noises of animals may be classed as deliberate, signa data. But this difference could mean that

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[1] cf. B.D. Jackson, 'The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana', R.E. Aug. 15 (1969), 43.

they are merely taking different sides in a known dispute on the subject to which Augustine is referring when he dismisses the classification of animal noises as alia quaestio (2.3.16).

Priscian, of course, writing in the sixth century cannot be a source for Augustine's theory. But in view of the lack of evidence, and this passage in Priscian being unparalleled - a comparatively unusual phenomenon in a work largely culled from the mainstream Greek grammarians Dionysius Thrax and Apollonius Dyscolus - it is very likely that there is a non-extant source for both these passages, which may once again be Varro, as both grammar and philosophy come within the scope of his subject matter.

C. Signs of men and signs of animals.

The next subdivision in the D.C., after signa data and signa naturalia is the differentiation of the signs of animals and those of men and the limitation of the topic to communication amongst men. The distinction between language and the noises made by animals is a topos in classical literature. It occurs in the passage of the De Interp. quoted above, in Lucretius De Rerum Natura 5.1028ff. and in Cicero De Inv. 1.5, as well as Priscian. The tendency, apart from Priscian, is to use the distinction to show that man is superior by the possession of language, as in Cicero, or as part of the debate between the anomalist and analogist theories of language, as in Aristotle. Augustine does not use the distinction in quite the same way as, with voluntas being the determining factor between the categories of signa data and signa naturalia, he is uncertain whether animal noises should perhaps be put in the same category of signa data as language. And indeed, words spoken involuntarily would presumably have to fall into the category of signa naturalia. But as the distinction is a commonplace it is likely that Augustine had it in mind in writing this passage, and in view of

the passage in Priscian he may be referring to a more specific debate.

D. Words and other signs used by men.

In 2.3 Augustine limited his topic to the signs used by men. In this next distinction in chpt.4 his principal aim is to limit his subject matter even further, to language. The formal distinction under the category signa does not occur elsewhere, but of course the differentiation of the spoken word and meaningful gestures is part of the art of both acting and rhetoric, and the examples from music and the military sphere would be familiar to his readers[1]. The biblical examples, although they neither provide a parallel for Augustine's theoretical division, nor are actually described as signs in the passages quoted, are of the genre of miraculous or significant events which both the Vulgate and the Latin Fathers refer to as signa, as for instance in Luke 2.12 et hoc vobis signum. Thus once again there are a number of passages with which Augustine would be familiar, which are likely to have influenced his thought.

E. The written and spoken word.

The differentiation of the written and spoken word may seem insignificant to the modern reader, but it was of prime importance in antiquity, where works were written to be spoken or sung aloud and where even the art of silent reading was not generally practised. As Augustine wishes to deal with the written text of Scripture, he must include this distinction in his theory. He therefore gives a definition of vox which follows the Stoic tradition favoured by the Latin grammarians

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1 See comm. 2.4 for further details.

from Varro on and differentiates the written and spoken word or letter. The written word is described as a sign of the spoken word by Aristotle (see above B p.22) and by Augustine himself in De Dialectica 5.9, which may be under the influence of Varro, in view of the Varronian echoes in the rest of the chapter, and Varro's reputation as a grammarian.

F. Signa ignota and signa ambigua

There is a parallel for the distinction between signa ignota and signa ambigua in the De Dial. 8-10, under the slightly different headings of obscuritas and ambiguitas[1]. And again there is more than a strong possibility that the source for both the De Dial. and the D.C. is Varro[2].

G. Signa propria and signa translata

Both ambiguous and unknown signs are divided into signs to be taken literally, signa propria, and signs to be taken figuratively, signa translata. This subdivision does not occur under obscuritas and ambiguitas in the De Dialectica, which are developed along lines suitable for dialectic, but it is a common rhetorical division occurring in both the Greek and Roman schools, notably in Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian[3].

Conclusion

From this examination of the evidence for the sources and originality of Augustine's theory of signs, two points clearly emerge.

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1 cf. Jackson's edition, pp.130-133.

2 For further Varronian echoes compare Jackson's edition, p.130 note 2.

3 See also commentary on 2.15.

Quintilian, 8.6.5:

> transfertur ergo nomen aut verbum ex eo loco, in quo proprium est, in eum, in quo aut proprium deest aut translatum proprio melius est.

cf. 8.3.15; 8.3.24; Cic., De Or. 3.149

Ar., Rhet. 1404b, where the Greek equivalents are τὸ κύριον and τὸ οἰκεῖον: τὸ δε κύριον καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μεταφορὰ μόνα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν τῶν φιλῶν λόγων λέξιν.

As far as the form and structure are concerned, there are very definite parallels in the genre of technical treatises which must have influenced Augustine. But when it comes to the content of the theory no one extant source emerges as primary, though there are obvious influences from rhetoric, especially Cicero's Part. Or., from Stoic logic and theories of language, from grammar and from dialectic.

Three possible inferences may be drawn. Either Augustine has woven all these different strands into a quite original theory, or there is a non-extant source from which the sign theory is largely taken, or one must conclude that there is not enough evidence to make a decision one way or the other.

The two main articles written on this topic have chosen the first of these alternatives. R.A. Markus (Phronesis 2 (1957), 60-83) declares that Augustine's originality lies in his application of the theory of signs to language. This is clearly wrong, as Jackson points out in his article (op. cit. 48), for the Stoics did use their theory of signs as a linguistic theory. Jackson, who collects some of the classical background for the theory of signs, declared that Augustine is the first among Latin authors to call words signs and is being quite original in applying the traditional sign theory and language of the Stoics and Aristotle to the interpretation of Scripture. Unfortunately, in spite of his edition of the De Dial. where he notes the probable influence of Varro on this work as well as the similarities between the theory of signs there and the D.C., he fails to consider seriously the possible influence of Varro on the D.C., dismissing him cursorily on p.32, with the remark that the only reference to signum in his works is an etymology of the word meaning a sign of the zodiac in De L.L. 7.14. He also fails to note the influences of the genre of technical treatises in general, of Cicero's Part. Or. and of the passage in Priscian. He is thus left with Aristotle and the Stoics as the only evidence which will stand up to any examination.

From the extra evidence, however, it is possible to draw a conclusion on Augustine's originality and dispute Jackson's verdict. The name of Varro has continually appeared in the search for a source. Of the seven divisions in the sign theory, A (the distinction of *res* and *signa*) and F (the distinction of *signa ignota* and *signa ambigua*) are clearly dependent on Varro's *De Dialectica*. Of the other five, he would certainly be aware of the passages noted from ancient authors as providing some kind of parallel. In B (the distinction of *signa naturalia* and *signa data*), he would have been familiar with the *De Interp.* and is a possible source for Augustine and Priscian, if one does not believe them to have read the original work in Greek or in translation. C (the distinction of the signs of men and animals) and E (the distinction of the written and spoken word) both come from grammatical theory in which Varro was a known expert. D (the distinction of words and other signs used by men) is a commonplace and G (the distinction of *signa propria* and *signa translata*) is a general rhetorical division.

If Varro is to be posited as a source, then his *De Dialectica* is obviously a prime candidate. Yet, in spite of the dangers inherent in speaking of non-extant works, I would like to suggest in conclusion that it is the first part of the *De L.L.*, for which admittedly there is less tangible evidence than even the *De Dialectica*, that is the source for the sign theory of the *D.C.* For the *De Dialectica* provides parallels for only two of the divisions, and the sign theory *qua* linguistic theory would admirably fit the context of the *De Lingua Latina*, as we have seen. Pillaging a pagan work to fit his own needs is also in accord with Augustine's view of pagan knowledge as expressed in chapters 29 - 63 of book 2 and his knowledge of Varro's work and admiration for him is also widely acknowledged[1].

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[1] cf. comm. 27.3.

To posit Varro as a primary source is not a denial of the other extant authorities noted above, but merely a reflection on Augustine's originality. Jackson is, of course, right in saying that Augustine is original in applying traditional sign theory to the interpretation of Scripture. But if this theory was largely based on Varro, in a version much more similar to the D.C. than that of Aristotle, the Stoics or Cicero, then the originality must be somewhat less.

3. Language

A. Christian Latin

Over the past hundred years or so there has been a great deal of interest shown by the scholarly world in Late Latin and in particular in the Latin of Christian writers. M.G. Koffmane in his book Entstehung und Entwicklung des Kirchenlateins (Breslau, 1879) was one of the first to consider seriously the idea that if language reflects the life of the people, then 'Christianisms' ought to occur in the language of those who have become believers. This led him to pose the question, "Is there a 'Church Latin'?"[1] And on grounds of vocabulary and certain syntactic features he concluded that there was a particular Christian idiom. This view was taken up and studied in depth by J. Schrijnen and his pupils, notably Christine Mohrmann. Their conclusions were much more radical. Mohrmann[2] states that their findings showed a veritable linguistic revolution in the effect of Christianity on the Latin language. This opinion is based on the notion of Christian Latin as a 'Special Language', which has aroused some controversy[3].

Mohrmann[4] uses the definition of M. Vendryes[5] for the term 'Special Language':

> On entend par langue spéciale une langue qui n'est pas employée que par des groupes d'individus, placés dans des circonstances spéciales.

The controversial point in such a definition arises with the question of how much isolation of the Christian community and language from the rest of the community and the common language is being implied, i.e. the relationship of the 'Special Language' to the common language. Mohrmann[6] quite clearly states that she considers the term 'Special Language' to denote the speech of a group, which although based in the common language of the community and influenced by it, nevertheless displays significant differences in vocabulary, syntax and style,

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1 ".... gibt es,denn ein Kirchenlatein?", op. cit., Introduction 1, cf. Mohrmann, Etudes sur le Latin des Chrétiens (Rome, 1961-77), vol.1 pp.83f.

2 op. cit., vol.1. p.84.

3 cf. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.1 pp.83-102 for a statement and definition of the views of the Schrijnen School.

4 op. cit., vol.1 pp.84f.

5 Le Langage (Paris, 1950), p.293.

6 'Le Latin Commun et le Latin des Chrétiens.' Vigiliae Christianae 10 (1947), 3, where references are given for detailed studies of such features of Christian Latin.

though not in phonetics. Elsewhere[1] she states that this happens when a group of people united by common profession, sex, age, religion etc. come together, but it is not clear whether she would accept the professional speech of lawyers, doctors etc. as a 'Special Language' in the technical sense or not. That Christian Latin is a 'Special Language' in this wider sense is evident[2], in that there is an identifiable Christian idiom in the same way as there is a definite legal idiom etc. i.e., there is a certain vocabulary, syntax and style which predominates and makes a document obviously 'Christian' or 'legal'. However, this idiom did not arise and develop in total isolation from the common language of the community. In the beginning the common language of the lower classes (Vulgar Latin) was a prime factor in Christian Latin as the first Western Christians were of this status. By the time of Augustine it was the language of the educated classes which was an important element in the development of the idiom as they became converted.

The distinction between Christian Latin and the language of other parts of the community is most noticeable in terms of vocabulary, where there was a need for new terminology. For the style and syntax were more likely to remain very similar to the common language in which the idiom developed. As Palmer[3] remarks of early Christian Latin, 'The consequence is that a grammatical survey of the Vetus Latina and Vulgate would be in the main a repetition of what has been written in the previous chapter" (on Vulgar Latin). Likewise the syntax and style of the Fathers is for the most part more comparable with pagan authors of the period than with the Vetus Latina. Thus Christian Latin cannot be termed a 'Special Language' in the restricted sense of the words.

In view of this controversial nature of the term 'Special Language', it is perhaps simpler to avoid it and to look at the factors involved in the evolution of a Christian idiom until the time of Augustine. Two elements are obvious from the relationship with the common language:

(i) The very large lower class element amongst the Early Christians, which meant that their common speech (Vulgar Latin) was an important element.

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1 Mohrmann, Études, vol.1 p.85.

2 cf. L.R. Palmer, The Latin Language (London, 1954), pp.181ff. Palmer accepts this wider definition of 'Special Language' and considers Christian Latin in the light of that.

3 op. cit., pp.187f.

(ii) By the fourth century the language of the educated classes as they adopted Christianity.

In addition two particularly Christian factors are evident:

(iii) The influence of Greek and Hebrew through the Greek translations of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New Testament, as Christianity came to the West as essentially a Greek speaking religion.

(iv) The desire of the early Christians in the West to differentiate themselves from pagan Latin and pagan gods, which led to an avoidance of pagan religious terms[1].

As far as Augustine is concerned, he was educated in a system where the main classical authors were still the staple diet[2] and the supreme examples of 'good Latin'. His attitude in Conf. 3.9 where he states how as a young man he was put off Scripture by its style, which he considered unworthy of comparison with Cicero, is thus both quite natural and indicative of the influence of the second two factors above on the Christian idiom. After his conversion he became reconciled to the language of the Bible and a two way linguistic process took place. For Augustine's own language became affected by the Christian idiom and at the same time his speech influenced the Christian idiom. The result was what one might term the 'more literary' Christian Latin evident in the Fathers compared with the Old Latin versions of the Bible or a work like the Passio SS. Felicitatis et Perpetuae.

It is the intention of this chapter to consider how far in book 2 of the D.C. Augustine's language had been affected by his involvement with Christianity. For by the time he wrote this in 396/7, he had intellectually overcome his doubts about the biblical language, even preferring in some cases the solecisms and barbarisms of the Old

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[1] cf. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.1 p.62.

[2] Vergil, Terence, Sallust and Cicero, along with rhetorical theory which was taught in accordance with classical precepts made up the syllabus of the educational system, cf. Marrou (2), pp.373ff.

Latin versions to 'good classical Latin'[1].

B. Vocabulary

From the table of Christianisms overleaf, it is obvious that Augustine's vocabulary in the D.C. is permeated by the new idiom. His use of these terms is quite natural in a Christian context. The opening chapters of book 2 bear hardly a trace of Christianisms. This is not simply because Augustine is using general terms of Latin which were inoffensive to Christians. For the technical terms res and signa come straight from Varro and Cicero and the influence of Aristotle, the Stoics and the Grammarians is also evident in these chapters on the sign theory.

C. Syntax

In D.C. 2.19.18ff. Augustine deviates from the norms of classical grammar and does not condemn syntactic 'errors' such as inter hominibus instead of inter homines. But, as one might expect, he himself is not a great perpetrator of such syntactic abnormalities, though he believes there is no harm in them provided the meaning is clear. Book 2 is not full of syntactic abnormalities.

Features of Vulgar Latin common in Christian Latin, such as the tendency to use quod or quia with the indicative or subjunctive instead of the accusative and infinitive for an indirect statement[2] are not predominant. Indeed there is no example of this construction in book 2 of the D.C., which may be compared with statistics for other works. The proportions for the accusative and infinitive as against quod or quia are 55:1 in the pre-baptismal works, 8:1 in the Civ. Dei, 5:1 in the Conf. and 1:2 in the Sermons.[3] The only marked syntactic feature in D.C. 2 is the use of polysyndeton with et, which, for instance, occurs twelve times in chapter 4 and was a common feature of biblical Latin.

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[1] See comm. 19.16; 20.12 and 18.

[2] cf. Palmer, op. cit., p.188.

[3] Calculations of Th. Dokkum, De constructionis analyticae vice accusativi cum infinitivo fungentis usu apud Augustinum. (Snecae, 1900), p.67, cited in Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.3 p.248.

Table illustrating 'Christianisms' in Augustine's Vocabulary[1]

Vocab.	D.C.2	Semantic Shift	Calque	Loan Word	'Vulgar' Latin[2]	Avoidance of Pagan Terms
Scriptura (divina)	3.8	✓				
sacramentum	4.17		✓ (μυστήριον)			✓ (mysterium)
innotescere	6.5				✓	
vilescere	7.7				✓	
ecclesia	7.9			✓ (Greek)		✓ (templum)
incorporare	7.11		✓ (ἐνσωμάτων)		✓	
saeculum	7.12		✓ (αἰών, οἰκουμένη)			
baptismum/-a	7.13/ 7.27			✓ (Greek)		
lavacrum	7.13		✓ (λουτρόν)		✓	
marcesco	8.8				✓	
Spiritus (Sanctus)	8.9		✓ (Πνεῦμα)			
modificare	8.10				✓	
Dominus	11.20		✓ (Κύριος)			
canon/ canonicus	13.1/ 12.6	✓		✓ (Greek → Classical Latin)		
prophetia	13.24	✓		✓ (Greek → Classical Latin)		✓ (vates)
testamentum	13.26		✓ (διαθήκη)			
evangelium/-ista	13.27/ 15.11			✓ (Greek)		
apostolus/ -icus	13.29/ 12.11			✓ (Greek)		
fides	14.10		✓ (πίστις)			
caritas	14.11		✓ (ἀγάπη)			
Amen / Alleluia / Racha / Osanna	16.8			✓ (Hebrew)		
angelus	35.4			✓ (Greek)		
diabolus	36.16		✓ (διάβολος, Hebrew-Satan)			

[1] 'Christianisms' i.e. words which exhibit traces of any of the first three factors noted on p.31 as influential in Christian Latin. The table is not exhaustive, but merely an indication of the types of words which Augustine uses. For further discussion of individual words, see commentary.

[2] 'Vulgar' i.e. words formed on principles noted by Palmer (op. cit., pp.168ff and 187ff) as typical of Vulgar Latin.

D. Clausulae

Metre	D.C.[1]	Cicero[2]	Civ.Dei.[3]
double spondee	5.7%	6.2%	1.90%
double trochee	18.8%	25.3%	10.95%
dactyl + trochee	2.7%	1.9%	less than 1%
cretic + trochee	17.9%	16.2%	27.05%
double iambus	10.2%	3.5%	1.90%
4th paeon	4.8%	2.3%	less than 1%
double cretic	15.6%	8.3%	10.55%
choriamb	10.5%	2.8%	3.75%
'esse videatur'	3.3%	4.7%	3.50%
molossus + cretic	10.8%	9.7%	4.70%

The accuracy of percentages can always be questioned. In particular, with regard to the above table for clausulae, it should be noted that the figures of T. Zielinski, given in the table at the end of Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden (Leipzig, 1904), are often substantially different from those of De Groot cited above. In no case, however, do these differences affect the assessment of which clausulae are sought and which avoided by a particular author.

It is noticeable that the four types of clausulae most sought by Augustine in the D.C. and Civ. Dei, (cretic + trochee, double trochee, double cretic and molossus + cretic) are also those most sought by Cicero. The most marked differences are Augustine's favouring of the double iambus and choriamb in the D.C. compared with both Cicero and the Civ. Dei.

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1 The percentages for the D.C. are based on an analysis of sentence endings in bk.2.

2 The figures for Cicero come from A.W. De Groot, La Prose Métrique des Anciens (Paris, 1926), pp.3-11.

3 The percentages for the Civ. Dei. are calculations based on G. Reynolds, The Clausulae in the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine (Washington, 1924), pp.21-26.

E. Style

There are two distinct styles in book 2, (i) the more sober style of the technical part of the work, where the theory is being explained and definitions given and (ii) the more rhetorical style, when topics which lend themselves more easily to the emotions, like the attack on the astrologers and superstition, are being discussed.

(i) Chapters 1-6 are a good example of the technical style. The definitions are given concisely, usually with an illustration following as in chapters 1 and 2:

Signum est enim res praeter speciem .... sicut ...

(2.1.5)

Signorum igitur alia sunt naturalia, alia data. Naturalia sunt, quae ..... sicuti .....

(2.2.1)

There are clear divisions of subject matter:

Sed de hoc toto genere nunc disserere non est propositum.

(2.2.11)

Quam partem ab hoc opere tamquam non necessariam removemus.

(2.3.17)

And there is a general lack of adornment with alliteration, assonance and the like. The style is typical of that of a technical treatise and may be compared with any of the works of this type such as Varro's Res Rusticae or those mentioned on p.13, in the discussion of sources for the sign theory.

(ii) In chapter 37, when Augustine is winding up his attack on superstition, the rhetorical figures which were notably absent in chapters 1-6 are much in evidence, and the style is notably 'higher'. The first sentence contains the simile:

quasi communi quadam lingua cum daemonibus foederata sunt.

The second:

Quae tamen plena sunt omnia pestiferae curiositatis, cruciantis sollicitudinis, mortiferae servitutis.

contains metaphor (pestiferae, cruciantis), a triplet (pestiferae .... servitutis) and assonance and alliteration (pestiferae curiositatis, cruciantis sollicitudinis, mortiferae servitutis (-ferae, cur/cruc, -tis)).

The rhetorical style is not particularly Christian in the sense of biblical, which is most noted for parallelism, antithesis and

polysyndeton. There are examples of these, e.g. 2.20.1ff.; 2.37.20ff.; 2.4.5ff., but they are not predominant. The most notable feature of the clause structure is the frequent use of si nondum .... iam tamen, non .... nisi vel. sim., e.g. 2.4.5; 2.12.5; 2.18.8.

Conclusion

It is obvious that Augustine's conversion to Christianity had its influence on his language and style in the D.C. book 2. though not unduly so. Christianisms occur in the vocabulary when they are necessary and natural, but neither the syntax, clausulae, nor style show very marked features of biblical Latin and the Christian idiom. The book is an example of the 'more literary' Christian Latin mentioned above and as such shows the effect of the language of the educated like Augustine on the Christian idiom when compared with Old Latin versions of the Bible.

That the language and style as a whole are 'literary' rather than popular' is not surprising given that it is a work written for the serious student of Scripture and incorporating a sign theory whose terms have a base in classical authors of Greek and Roman culture. As such it may be contrasted with the Sermons, which written for the ordinary people of Hippo, reflect the idiom of popular speech, and put in the same category as the Civ. Dei which exhibits distinctly more literary tendencies[1]. It is only natural that Augustine's style and language should differ according to his subject and audience: there would be little point in addressing the populace at Hippo in the same style as the Civ. Dei.

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[1] cf. C. Syntax above. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.3 p.369, says of Augustine's style:

> Anyone familiar with the style of the sermons and Confessions will remark that he breaks new ground in the De Civitate Dei. The short antithetical sentences of the Confessions and sermons contrast sharply with the complicated hypotactically constructed periods of the Civitas Dei. In contrast with the rhyme of the above named works, we have the clausulae of the Civitas Dei. In contrast with the popular word-play of the sermons, we have the Ciceronian play on words in the books on the City of God. It is clear that in this book, in which he addresses pagans, Augustine follows the secular rhetorical tradition of the schools, and even to a certain extent the classical tradition.

4. The Manuscripts

There are two main editions of the D.C., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 32 (Brussels, 1962) ed. J. Martin and Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 80 (Vienna, 1963) ed. W.M. Green. In this section I wish to discuss the relationship of the manuscripts used in these two editions.

Both editors present the relationship of the manuscripts in the form of a stemma. The purpose of a stemma is to show, in the most economical form possible, the history of the transmission of the text. This is necessary in the case of the D.C., as with all classical authors, because we do not possess a single autograph manuscript which shows precisely what the author wrote. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the editor to reconstruct the relationship of the surviving manuscripts and to use this to show where different readings have crept into the tradition and to reconstruct in the most primitive state possible the readings of the lost manuscript or manuscripts from which all extant copies descend. On the basis of the transmitted text, which one must not immediately assume to be the 'correct text', it is then possible to make judgements about what the author intended to be written.

The establishment of the 'correct text' is not, of course, such a simple two step process as outlined above. Inevitably the construction of a stemma involves some kind of circular argument. For, while there can be external arguments to support the relationship of manuscripts to one another - the dates or provenances of manuscripts or the identification of scribes' hands - it is all too often the case that internal arguments are the basis on which the stemma is constructed. The editor thus has to use his judgement in looking for 'significant errors' i.e. (1) errors common to two or more

manuscripts which are unlikely to have occurred separately, but rather have happened because at some stage in the transmission scribes were copying from a common archetype, no longer extant, which first promulgated the mistakes. (conjunctive errors) (2) errors which occur in one manuscript and not in others, which thus show that manuscript to be independent. (separative errors). As far as decisions about the 'correct text' are concerned the editor or reader only relies heavily upon the stemma in places where there are two variants which appear to be equally possible, after all other considerations of author's style, language etc. have been taken into account. In such cases the reading which has the greater authority in terms of the transmission is taken as the correct one.

Having briefly outlined the purpose and use of a stemma[1], I feel it necessary to give some warning against the stemmata of both editors of the D.C.: neither accurately fulfil their purpose and on account of this their use is severely limited.

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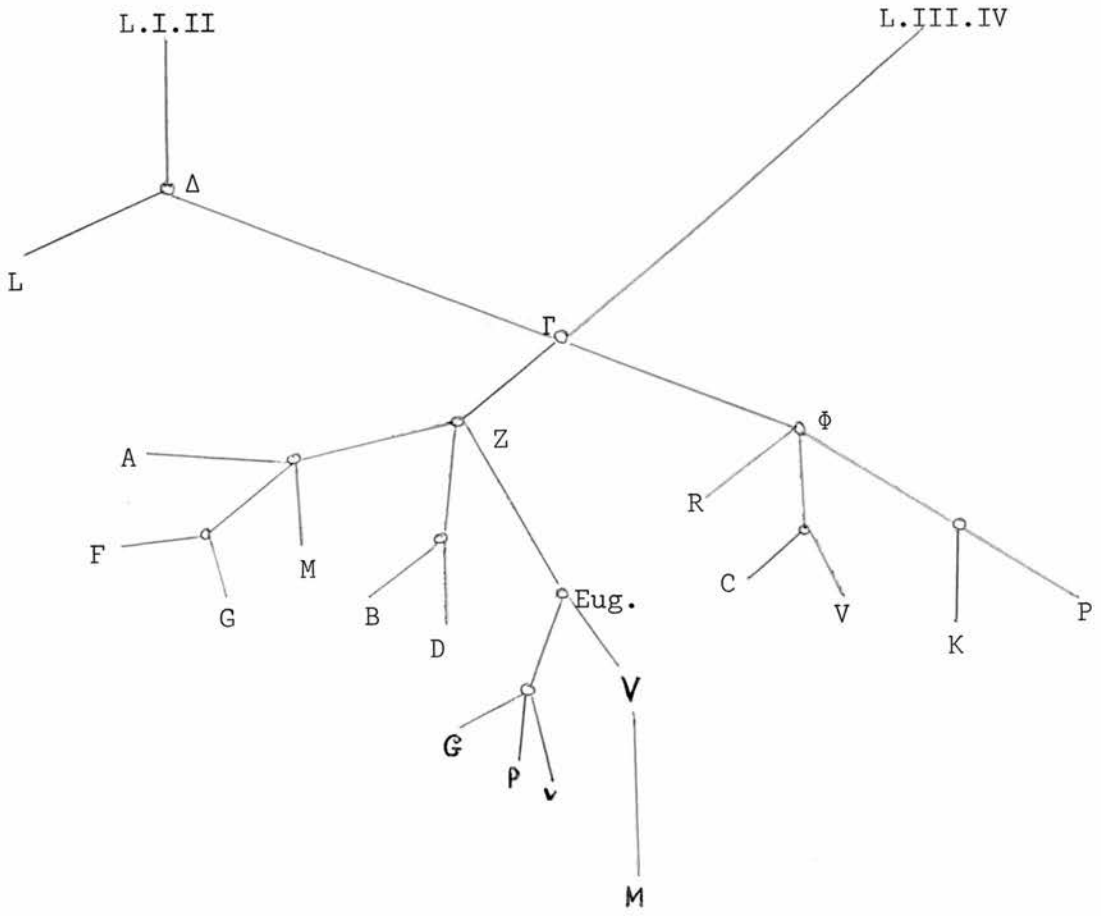
[1] For detailed study of stemmatics and textual criticism, see P. Mass, Textual Criticism (Oxford, 1958); L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars (Oxford, 1968), pp.137-162; M.L. West, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Teubner, 1973).

Analysis of Martin's Stemma in CC Edition.



Martin presents his evidence for the construction of this stemma on pp.XIX-XXXVII of his preface. Apart from estimating the dates of the manuscripts all the arguments are internal and based on significant errors: the family Eug. is based on external argument in so far as they are grouped together as manuscripts of the excerpta made by Eugippius of three books of the D.C., but their position in the stemma is based on internal argument.

The pairs BD, CV and KP are shown to be independent manuscripts in their own right, i.e. no manuscript of any pair is a copy of its partner, but more closely related to each other than to any of the others. (pp.XXIII-XXV and pp.XXVII-XXXIII)

A, G and M are very fragmentary: each contains only a few pages of the work, and so their position in the stemma is very hypothetical. (p.XXII).

F and R are shown to have enough separative errors to make them independent manuscripts (p.XXVII and P.XXXIII).

The evidence for the Eugippius manuscripts is not given. Martin uses the edition of P. Knoell (Vienna, 1885), and merely states their relationship to one another. (p.XXIf.)

At this level, there is no reason to quibble with Martin's assessment of the evidence. Difficulties begin to appear when he attempts to show the relationship of these pairs and individual manuscripts to one another. The stemma divides the manuscripts into two groups, LAFGMBD and RCVKP. This is done on the basis of one major error. At 2.36.1 there are two variant readings:

omnes igitur artes huiusmodi RCVKP
omnes igitur artifices huiusmodi LFBDEug.: desunt AGM

Martin prints artes as the correct reading[1] (he does not give his reasons for this in the preface) and proceeds to draw his stemma on the two group theory:

(i) FBDEug. have one major common error, so they are given the archetype Z as its source.

(ii) The fragments of AGM have closer affinities with FBDEug. than RCVKP, so they are put into the group with archetype Z (p.XXII).

(iii) RCVKP have the correct reading, so they constitute another group with the archetype Φ as its source.

(iv) These two groups also have common errors (p.XXV), hence the common archetype Γ.

(v) L, the oldest manuscript dating back at least to the fifth century[2], is reckoned to be sui iuris because of the number of separative errors contained in it. It is thus given its own archetype Δ.

(vi) L has the major error artifices in common with FBDEug. as well as other errors in common with the full group AGMFBDEug.: Martin thus proposes a common archetype to conjoin Δ and Z.

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[1] See commentary on 2.36.1

[2] For a description of L and discussion of its date see W.M. Green, 'A Fourth Century Manuscript of St. Augustine?' R. Ben. 69 (1959), 191-7.

L also has errors in common with the group RCVKP and errors in common with manuscripts from both groups. (errors of all these types are given on p.XXV)

From this evidence Martin concludes that the archetype joining Δ and Z must be the same as that joining the two groups AGMFBDEug. (Z) and RCVKP (Φ), viz. Γ.

(vii) The lines from L.1 and ll and L.lll and lV are drawn in because the D.C. was written in two halves and the manuscript L is believed to be a first edition containing only books 1 and 2. (see Martin, pp.VII-XIX, cf. Green, op.cit. Introduction A).

Problems with the stemma

The major problem is the division into two groups:

(a) The only place where all the manuscripts of one group disagree with all those of the other, apart from the fragmentary AGM, is at 2.36.1 (artes and artifices). If artes is the correct reading as Martin believes, then the archetypes Δ and Γ must have both readings and L, Z and Φ made their respective choices. There is no other explanation than coincidence, which would make nonsense of using this error to construct the relationship of the manuscripts, for L and the group with archetype Z having the common error and archetype Φ and its group preserving the correct reading.

(b) The relationship of the two groups to L does not point to L being more closely related to one than the other, and so one is left with artes and artifices as the only basis for the major division in the stemma. The errors on which the relationship of L and the two groups is based are few in number (13 including artifices), are never common to a whole group and L, apart from artifices, are often due to a corrector's hand and are mostly insignificant.*

Six errors are common to L and some manuscripts from the group AGMFBDEug.:

* 1.12.11-12	verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis habitabit	$D^1G^1L^1$
1.13.9-10	vel si quid aliud huiusmodi vel quid aliud huiusmodi	L^1Eug.
* 1.24.12-13	libidines enim male utentes corpore utentis	L G^1v
* 1.33.3	manifestum est hoc praecepto, quo iubemur quod	F L
* 1.38.19-20	tamquam agglutinante nos sancto spiritu, quo in summo bono permanere possimus	
	quod	L
	quia	F
* 2.36.17-18[1]	claudere atque obserare conantur conatur	L V

With the stemma as drawn up by Martin each of these errors common to L and some of the group AGMFBDEug. must occur together with the correct reading in the archetypes Δ, Γ, and Z.

Six errors common to L and some members of the group RCVKP are also listed by Martin. Two are between L and one manuscript of the group RCVKP:

* 2.10.17	ne desperatione frangatur disperatione	L^1P
* 2.5.8-9	inter incommutabilem commutabilem	K^1L

The other four are also in common with a manuscript or manuscripts of the group AGMFBDEug.:

pro.8.11	sed etiam intellegendo ea in intellegendo	B^2F^2L R
* 1.1.13-14	adimplebit atque cumulabit adimplevit	D F L P
* 2.27.16-17	omnem sonum ... triformem esse natura naturam	C D L^2R
* 2.54.11[2]	aut ad expetendum aut expetendum	L R^1 P V

As with the group AGMFBDEug. and errors in common with L, the construction of the stemma means that various archetypes must have included both the error and the correct reading. In the case of the first two errors common only to L and a manuscript from RCVKP, the

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[1] Martin appears to have omitted to note the readings of the Eug. mss. in this section (p.XXV): the apparatus at 2.36.17-18 notes that V also reads conatur (cf. below f.n.2)

[2] According to the apparatus at 2.54.11 ad is also omitted by P V .

archetypes with a double reading are Δ, Γ and Φ: but the other four errors are common to some manuscripts from both groups and L and so all four archetypes must be supposed to have had double readings.

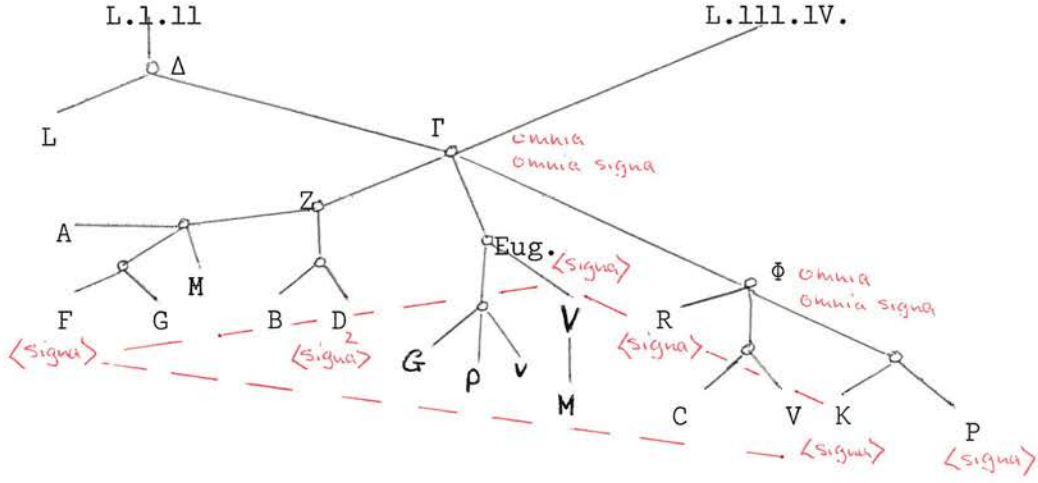
(c) Excluding L, the errors common to manuscripts from the two groups makes the strict division both implausible and impracticable. For one has to suppose that a considerable number of readings were copied into, or emanated from Γ and were then copied into Z and Φ along with the correct reading.

Martin lists thirty-three errors from the prooemium and books 1 and 2 which show group contamination: four from the prooemium, fourteen from book 1 and fifteen from 2. (p.XXV)

Two examples of these common errors

(a) 2.4.13

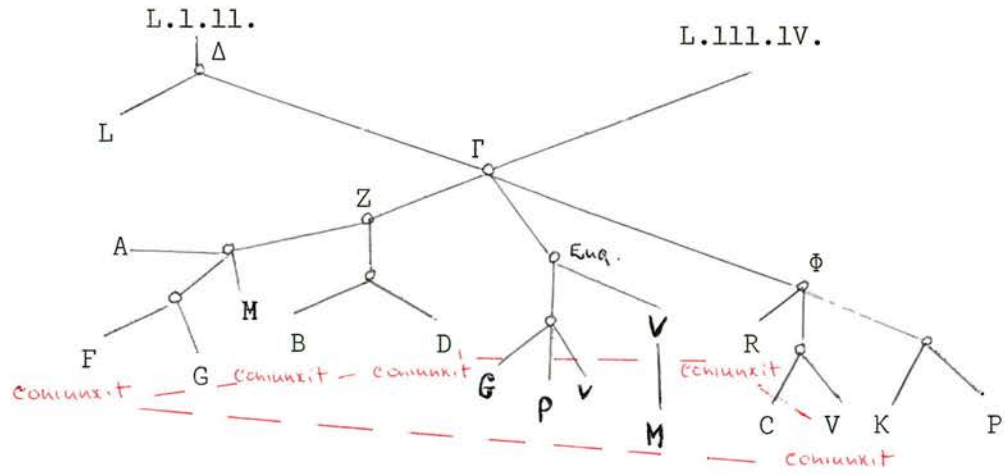
Sed omnia verbis conparata paucissima sunt
Sed omnia signa verbis conparata paucissima sunt. D^2FKPREug.



lines of contamination as alternative to double readings in archetypes.

(b) 1.44.7

Conscientiam vero bonam subiunxit propter spem
Conscientiam vero bonam coniunxit propter spem B D^1F R V



Conclusion

From Martin's own evidence the stemma is impractical. Problems (a) and (b) alone are almost surmountable. For, if in the case of (a) artifices is taken as the correct reading, then the error artes need only be supposed to have crept in with the archetype Φ on the basis of the stemma. And with problem (b) the small number of errors which support L's relationship to the other manuscripts could become an advantage: the fewer errors which involve double readings in three or four archetypes the better. However, the errors common to both groups in the stemma make this explanation highly suspect and it is extremely unlikely that artifices is the correct reading (cf. comm.36.1). Thus, it must be concluded that the stemma is unworkable.

The one other piece of evidence which Martin uses to support his two group theory is a comparison of the relative number of quotations from the Old Latin Bible and Jerome's Vulgate. Assuming that Augustine followed the Old Latin version, he counts the number of quotations from the Vulgate in the two groups. As the instances of the Vulgate in RCVKP exceed those in FBDL he concludes that the latter group is the more reliable.

In books one and two there are five separate Vulgate readings in BDFL and nine in RCVKP. In three and four there are fifteen in BDF and fifty-nine in RCVKP. These figures are the total of the Vulgate readings in each of these manuscripts for the Epistles given by Martin on

pp. XXV - XXVI. The numerical difference in books one and two seem negligible. The dramatic increase in three and four has two explanations: as we are dealing with totals and not separate errors the five manuscripts of RCVKP, as against the three of BDF are bound to generate more Vulgate readings. By the time Augustine wrote the second half of the D.C. the whole of Jerome's Vulgate would have been completed and it is known that Augustine's view of the work vis à vis the Septuagint and Old Latin versions underwent some change in later years. Thus it is possible that in some instances he meant to quote the Vulgate[1]. Apart from this Vulgate readings are an isolated class of errors and must be weighed in the balance against all the other significant errors. As many scribes would be familiar with the Vulgate text it is more likely that these errors should be treated as coincidence than as 'significant errors' which could only have occurred through the copyist having a source identical with that of any other manuscript containing the same Vulgate reading. Finally any rearrangement of the grouping of the manuscripts would result in different totals and different conclusions which could be used in support of another stemma. All in all, therefore, this class of error is not enough to overcome the reservations made above about Martin's description of the relationship of the manuscripts.

CSEL Edition

Green in his CSEL edition uses five manuscripts which Martin does not take into account in his stemma. He does not however use Martin's R, C, V or F in the stemma: F he reckons to be a copy of ℵ.

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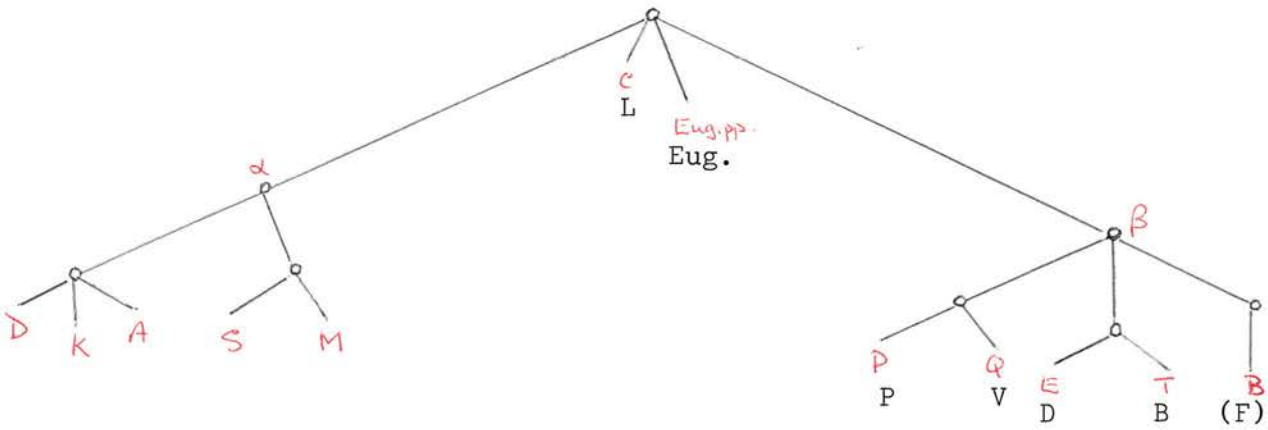
[1] cf. comm.22.1; 22.4.

Green's Stemma



- Martin's sigla
- Green's sigla

Green has simplified the stemma by comparison with Martin, and in his explanation of the relationship of the manuscripts is not so convinced that his stemma is satisfactory. From his collation of the manuscripts he thinks that the relationship between DKASM on the one hand and PQETB on the other is clear enough to say that these constitute separate families α and β, while C and Eugippius cannot be assigned to either group, being older than the archetypes α and β. C agrees with α as often as β, Eugippius more often with β than α. At the same time he admits to contamination between the families[1].

In terms of errors common to both families Green's stemma works no better than Martin's.

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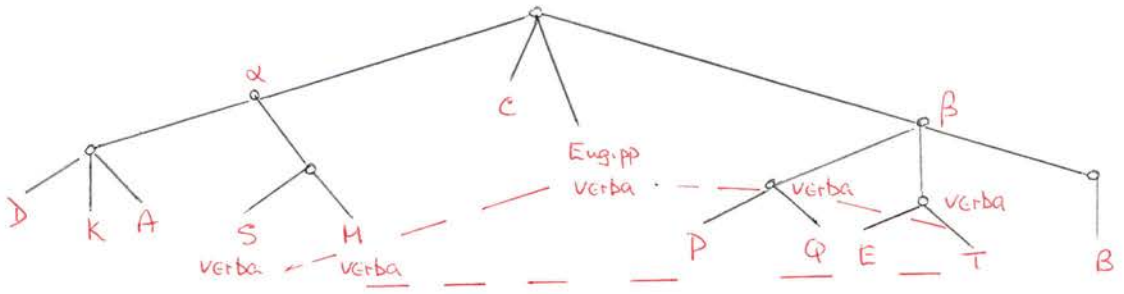
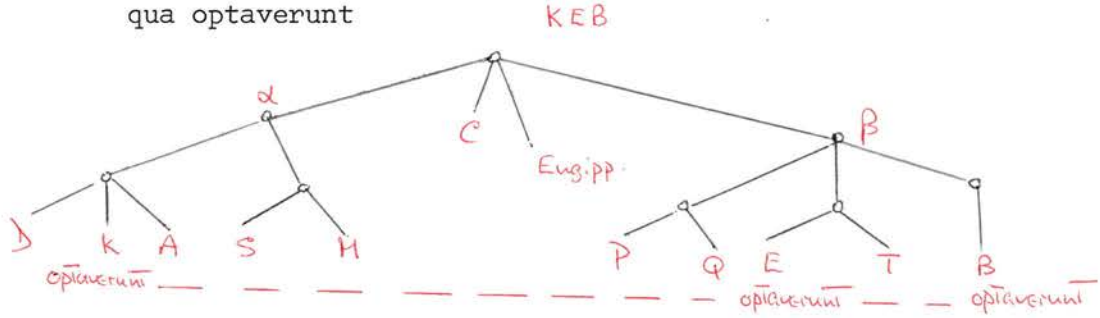
[1] CSEL, Praefatio, p.XXIV.

Two examples of contamination

2.17.21 Quis horum vera secutus sit
Quis horum verba secutus sit



2.19.18 qua coaptaverunt
qua optaverunt



However, he has avoided the temptation to construct two clear groups within PQETB (PVDB(F)) on the basis of artes/artifices: no doubt he is helped in this by taking artifices as the correct reading and not using R, C or K. He also admits to contamination in the stemma and does not construct a common archetype to deal with this as Martin does.

Final conclusion on the relationship of the manuscripts used by both editors.

Both stemmata are full of problems and the reason for this is the amount of contamination between the manuscripts. The evidence for contamination is very clear.

(1) External Evidence

Apart from L, A, G and **V** , all the manuscripts are from the Carolingian period when the scholastic world was small and contamination

common[1]. At this time a scribe would commonly use more than one manuscript to make his copy from. The D.C. has two particular qualifications for the likelihood of contamination occurring in the manuscripts. It had a first edition of only books one and two, which would mean that any scribe using such a manuscript would have to switch to another for the rest of the work. We have one manuscript of this type, L, and there were possibly others no longer extant. The D.C. was also an important work, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages and copies of the work are thus likely to have been common. When it was written it played an important part in the controversy over the use of

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[1] On contamination cf. Reynolds and Wilson op. cit., pp.143f., W.S. Barrett, Euripides' Hippolytos (Oxford, 1964), pp.54f.

'If an author is read at all widely and texts of his works are common (as Eur. was, and as texts of his more popular play certainly were), the owner of one text will often be able to collate his copy with another, and to introduce into it readings which he considers superior. In such cases the development of the tradition is very different from the divergent deterioration of an uncontaminated tradition. Whenever a false reading arises, whether as an accidental error or as a deliberate change, that false reading will in an uncontaminated tradition perpetuate itself in all descendants of the ms. in which it arose, but in no other ms. In a contaminated tradition anything may happen: when the ms. or its copies are collated with independent mss., either the false reading may be suppressed (in all copies or in some) or it may be preferred to the truth and incorporated in some or all of the independent mss. as well. Nonsensical errors will tend to be short-lived, but errors that seem to make sense may not only survive but may spread beyond the descendants of the mss. in which they arise and may even prevail entirely over the truth. At any period we shall find a number of alternative readings current in the tradition; as time goes on the two alternatives will in some cases maintain themselves with equal tenacity, but in other cases one alternative (whether the false or the true) will lose ground or even vanish altogether, while at the same time new alternatives will arise in other places to keep the general picture the same. The tradition will still deteriorate, but its deterioration will be homogeneous rather than divergent: there will be no clear-cut families, and alternative readings will be distributed quite unsystematically between different mss.; at no period will the difference between contemporary mss. be much greater than at any other, and the deterioration will consist simply in the gradual disappearance of some of the true alternatives and the gradual emergence of a number of false ones. If at the same time commentaries are in circulation, these will serve to some extent as a defence against new error, but only in passages with which a commentary deals and against readings with which it is manifestly incompatible; and since commentaries are not static but are constantly adapted and rewritten, they may often be adapted into agreement with an error and so come actually to encourage its establishment.'

pagan learning for Christianity. In the centuries between then and the period from which most of the manuscripts with which our editors have used come, it is known to many of the mainstream authors: Cassiodorus mentions it (Exp. in Ps. Praef. XV.77-83; 1.4), Isidore refers to the use of Itala in Etym.6.4, Bede made an abbreviated copy of book three in his commentary on the Apocalypse and had the D.C. in his library[1] and Rabanus Maurus relied upon it when he wrote his De Institutione Clericorum[2].

Further support for contamination is given by the number of correctors' hands discernible in the manuscripts: there is at least one in all of them.

The provenances of the manuscripts, as far as they can be traced, (see table overleaf) do not show two of the manuscripts being in the same scriptorium at a relevant time. However all, apart from A and L, are definitely from the major monastic centres of Europe amongst which there was plenty of contact.

In the table – indicates the sigla used by Green in the CSEL edition for manuscripts not used by Martin in the CC edition. All other manuscripts are indicated by – for Martin's sigla.

A full discussion of the provenance of manuscripts B,D,β,V,P. δ,κ,A,s, H and L, with bibliography, is contained in CSEL edition. The CC edition gives only a brief description of the manuscripts with a bibliography for A,G,M,K, and L. Further references for these and the remaining manuscripts R,C and F are given in the notes below. The manuscripts of Eugippius' Excerpta are not included in the table as these clearly constitute a separate family: for descriptions see CSEL.9.1,

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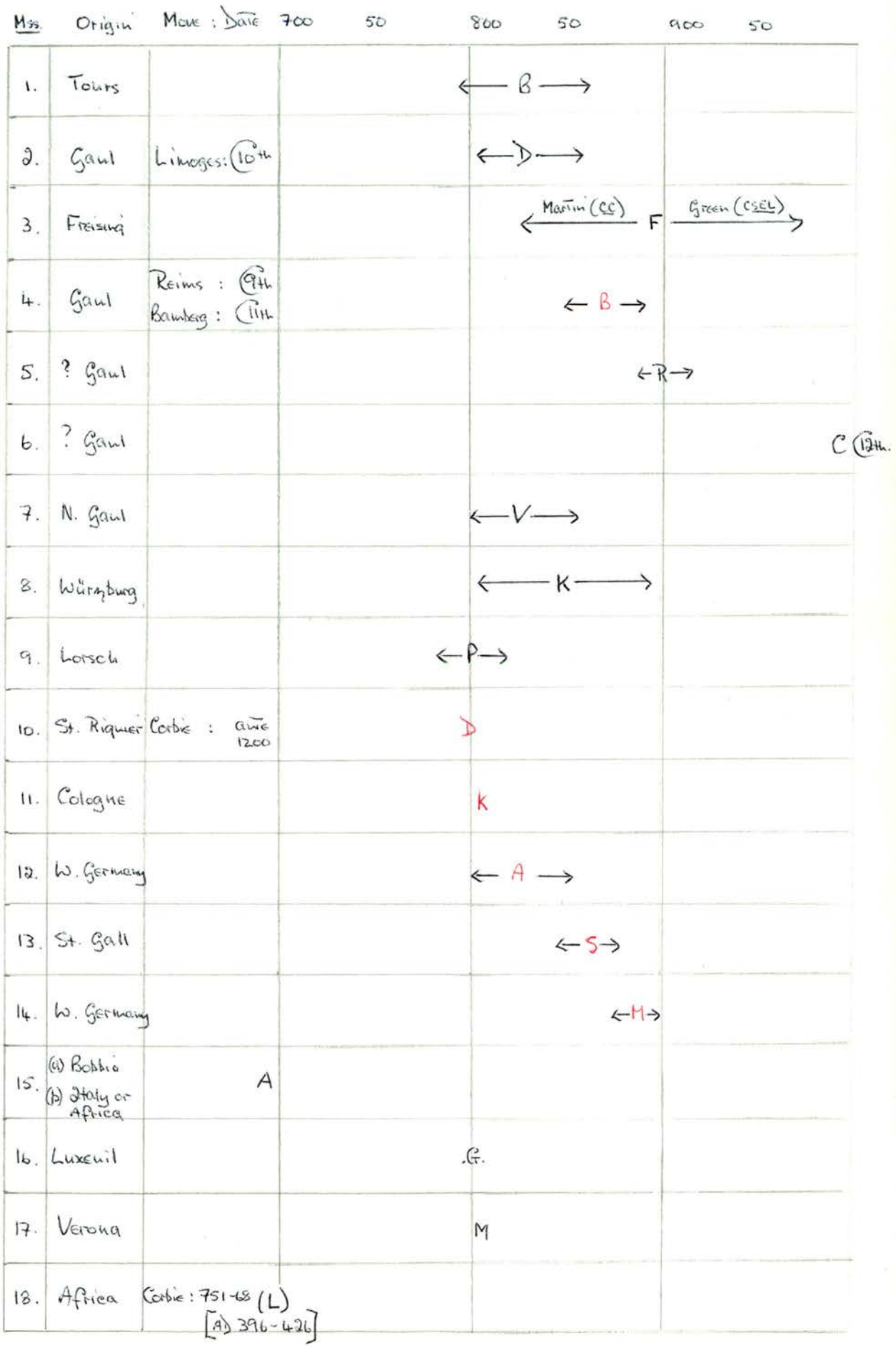
1 cf. M.L.W. Laistner, The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages (New York, 1957), pp.93-149, esp. p.132.

2 cf. J.J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (California, 1974), pp.82-86.

Table illustrating provenances of manuscripts



ed. Knoell.

1. codex Parisinus N. acqu. lat. 1595.

   CSEL p.XXI

2. codex Parisinus lat. 2704

   CSEL p.XX

3. codex Monacensis 6301

   CSEL p.XXII

   CC p.XX cf. N. Daniel, Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek (Munich, 1973), pp.173ff.

4. codex Bambergensis Patr.21

   CSEL p.XXIf.

5. codex Vaticanus Reginensis 259.

   CC p.XXI The information that the manuscript is probably from Gaul, I owe to the kindness of Dr. L. de la Mare of the Bodleian Library.

6. codex Parisinus lat. 1938

   CC p.XX - Martin estimates the date as the end of the 10th century, but Dr. de la Mare considers that it is most definitely 12th century.

7. codex Vaticanus Palatinus 189

   CSEL p.XX;

8. codex Oxoniensis Laud. misc.121

   CC p.XX

9. codex Vaticanus Palatinus 188

   CSEL p.XIX

10. codex Parisinus lat. 13359

    CSEL p.XVI

11. codex Coloniensis 74

    CSEL p.XVII

12. codex Monacensis 3824

    CSEL p.XVIIf.

13. codex Sangallensis 147

    CSEL p.XVIIIf.

14. codex Cameracensis 473

    CSEL p.XIX

15. codex rescriptus Ambrosianus G 58 sup. ff. 74-75,2, et M 77 sup. ff. 1,97 sq.

    CSEL p.XXII

    CC pp.XIX-XX

16. codex papyraceus Geneuensis lat. 16

CC p.XX

17. codex Monacensis 6407
B. Bischoff Die südöstlichen Schreibschulen (Leipzig, 1940), p.149ff.

CC p.XXI

18. codex Leningradensis Q v. I 3

CSEL pp.XIII-XV

CC p.XX, f.n. (47)

(2) Internal Evidence

The number of errors common to separate groups in each of the stemmata points to contamination.

Martin (CC p.XXV) lists thirty-three errors common to manuscripts of each of his groups. Not all of these will stand up to stringent tests for 'significant errors' as the majority could have occurred independently. The following three are the strongest evidence for contamination between the two groups:

1.10.2-3	deus, auctor et conditor universitatis deus, auctor et cognitor universitatis	B D K
1.44.7	conscientiam vero bonam subiunxit conscientiam vero bonam coniunxit	B D^1F R V
2.4.13	sed omnia verbis conparata sed omnia signa verbis conparata	D^2F K P R Eug.

From a survey of his apparatus the following six, which he does not include, should be added:

2.3.8.	quae scripturis sanctis continentur quae in scripturis continentur	F C K P V Kn.
2.16.10f	sicut Amen et Alleluia sicut sunt Amen et Alleluia	D F C V
2.24.13	exuendumque ipsum veterem hominem exuendumque veterem hominem	B D C V
2.39.19	in ipsis singulis populis populis singulis	D F C K P R V
3.20.19	quae inter claustra morum sollemnium latitabat quae inter claustra morum suorum sollemnium latitabat	F K P R

4.55.4 non est propter se ipsum usurpandum
non est genera dictionum propter se
ipsum usurpandum D C K P V

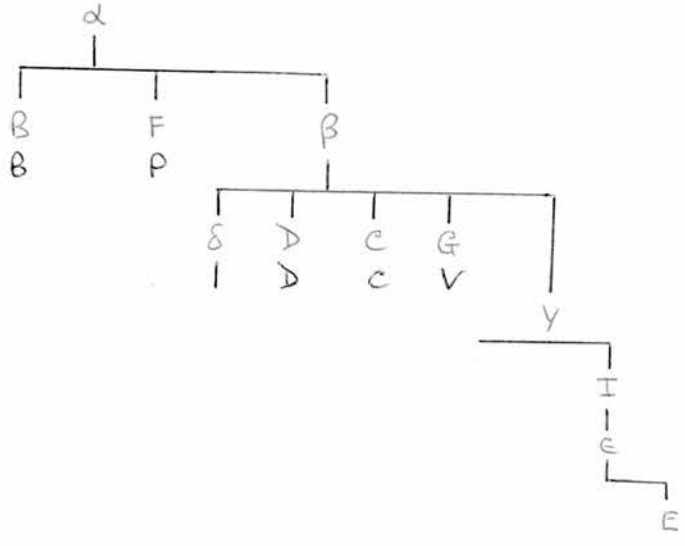
The remaining thirty errors quoted by Martin either involve dittography (e.g. 2.6.8), homoeoteleuton (e.g. 1.17.2f.), changes of one letter in an ending or middle of a word (e.g. 1.21.26; 2.61.10f.), correctors' hands being responsible for the errors in all the manuscripts concerned (e.g. 2.55.19) or changes between vel and aut or eiusmodi and huiusmodi (e.g. 1.36.2; 1.13.9f.) which could be significant or could equally well have occurred independently.

These errors must be taken as secondary evidence for contamination, backing up the more significant ones: without a full examination of the manuscripts and their particular idiosyncrasies, which is not within the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to say that they are more significant. This also applies to the lists of errors Martin provides to establish the relationship of the other manuscripts, as they exhibit the same difficulties as these thirty-three. Thus the small number of 'significant errors' common to the two groups does not detract from the theory of contamination in proportion to the number of errors which establish the relationships of the manuscripts. In any case even one significant error is logically enough to establish a relationship and the eleven errors given above show B with manuscripts from the other group three times, D seven times and F six times.

The assessment of scribal errors is a difficult problem - a lot of the so called 'significant errors' could have occurred independently, and equally any of the standard types of error normally regarded as 'insignificant', like dittography, could have occurred through scribes copying from an exemplar containing the error. This secondary evidence must not, therefore, be underrated, though to stand up to scientific examination it must naturally be backed up by 'significant errors' and external evidence.

The CSEL edition of Green does not list the errors on which he bases the relationship of the manuscripts, but his stemma which has Martin's B,D and F in the same family as his P and V supports the contamination between AGMFBDLEug. and RCVKP.

The conclusion of Sullivan who collated some of the manuscripts for her edition of book four also supports the view of contamination between the two groups of Martin's stemma. She describes the relationship of the manuscripts thus[1]:



- Sullivan's sigla
- Martin's sigla

From this evidence BD and CVP which appear in separate groups in Martin's stemma are interrelated.

Modern scholars who have written on the stemmatic method all agree with Maas[2] that 'where texts were much read there is a tendency for contamination to creep in, and where contamination exists the science of stemmatics in the strict sense breaks down'. West[3] and Reynolds and

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1 T. Sullivan, op. cit., p.2.

2 Maas op. cit., p.48

3 West, op. cit., p.5 says of Maas' work, 'It emphasises the stemmatic aspect of textual analysis, and treats contamination as a regrettable deviation about which nothing can be done, instead of as the normal state of affairs'.

Wilson [1] are not so vehement as Maas in their denial of the worth of stemmata where contamination exists, but in the case of the D.C. which was a widely read text in the mediaeval world the stemmata of the two main editions seem of little worth and the evidence for gross contamination is strong. The manuscript tradition of the D.C. seems very similar to that of Lucan as described by Housman[2]:

> 'The five manuscripts on which we chiefly depend, ZPGUV, cannot be divided and united into families or even classes. The circumstances in which Lucan's text was transmitted from his own time to the scholars of the Carolingian renascence did not afford the requisite privacy and isolation. There were no sequestered valleys through which streams of tradition might flow unmixed, and the picture to be set before the mind's eye is rather the Egyptian Delta, a network of watercourses and canals. Lucan was popular; variant readings were present not only in the margin of books but in the memory of transcribers; and the true line of division is between the variants themselves, not between the manuscripts which offer them. The manuscripts group themselves not in families but in factions; their dissidences and agreements are temporary and transient, like the splits and coalitions of political party; and the utmost which can be done to classify them is to note the comparative frequency of their shifting alliances.'

It is not within the limits of this study to make a detailed statistical study of all the manuscript variants, but from the evidence which has been forthcoming it is obvious that the relationship of the manuscripts is extremely complex and any attempt to organise them must be treated with caution.

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[1] cf. op. cit., p.143ff, Limitations of the Stemmatic Method.

[2] A.E. Housman, Lucanus (Oxford, 1958), pp.vi f.

COMMENTARY: BOOK 2

Chapters 1 - 4: Definitions and examples of the first four major divisions of the sign theory, signa/res and signa naturalia/signa data, are given and the scope of the work is limited to verba, the major category within signa data.

1.1. Quoniam ..... significant: cf. the similar warning with regard to res at 1.2.14:

> Et ideo in hac divisione rerum atque signorum, cum de rebus loquemur, ita loquemur, ut etiamsi earum aliquae adhiberi ad significandum possint, non impediant partitionem, qua prius de rebus, postea de signis disseremus, memoriterque teneamus id nunc in rebus considerandum esse, quod sunt, non quod aliud etiam praeter se ipsas significant.

The distinction has to be emphasised because, as Augustine explains in 1.2.2ff., all signa are themselves res and some res are also signa. The definition of res is:

> res .... quae non ad significandum aliquid adhibentur .. (1.2.2f.)

Thus the actual material wood or stone, or the animal, sheep are all res, but when these refer symbolically to something else, as in the case of the ram which Abraham sacrificed in place of his son Isaac, they are also signa. Words are normally used as signa, but unlike the res 'stone', which may or may not also be a signum, the words themselves are also res: for the category signa must include the category res, as anything which is not a res is nothing at all. In book 1, therefore, it is necessary to be quite clear that it is only res which are being discussed, regardless of whether these are also signa, and in book 2 the subject matter is solely signa qua signa and not signa qua res.

1.5. Signum est ..... venire: cf. Introduction 1.A, for the background to the terms signa and res and their definitions. The definition of the term signum given by Cicero may also be compared:

> Signum est, quod sub sensum aliquem cadit et quiddam significat, quod ex ipso profectum videtur.
>
> (De Inv.1.47)

This is not, however, strictly relevant and need not be taken seriously as a source. It is a technical term of rhetoric used along with testimonium to differentiate types of argument based on inference and occurs in both Greek and Latin rhetorical test books. (Ar. Rhet. 1357ab; Ps.Ar. Rhet. ad Alex. 1428a, 1430b-1431a; Quint. 5.8-10, cf. Jackson's article 30f.) It is not therefore formally related to the concepts signa and res as used by Augustine.

1.6. sicut ..... noverunt: four illustrations of signa are given. According to the definitions of the subdivisions signa naturalia and signa data, given at the beginning of the following chapter, the first two, smoke signifying fire and tracks indicating an animal, belong to the category signa naturalia (cf. 2.3ff.). The third, the voice of a living being as indicative of its state of mind, definitely belongs to the class signa data, in so far as it refers to the voices of men (3.1ff.), but Augustine is unsure whether the cries of animals should be similarly classified or put in the category signa naturalia (3.9ff.). He leaves the question open, as it makes no difference to his theme in book 2, but it appears from what he says in chapter 3 that he would be in favour of regarding animal cries as signa data. The fourth example, military signals on the tuba, is another illustration of signa data (cf. 4.11f.).

affectio animi

For the relationship of this phrase to Aristotle's use of τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθήματα in De Interpr., see Introduction 2 p.22.

The phrase is common in classical authors, especially Cicero, s.v. TLL affectio II, cf. also comm. 2.9 on motus animi.

tuba

A description of the tuba is provided by C. Sachs (1), The History of Musical Instruments (London, 1942), p.145:

'Roman tubas, chiefly used to give trumpet calls in the army, were simpler, made entirely of bronze with an evenly conical bore, a slightly expanding bell and a mouthpiece of either horn or bronze. Their average length was about four feet.'

2.1. Signorum igitur ..... ignem: cf. Introduction 2.B for the background to the division signa naturalia and signa data, and the 'originality' of the concept voluntas or appetitus as the distinguishing feature.

There are two possible syntactic divisions of the second sentence:

(a) Naturalia sunt, quae sine voluntate atque ullo appetitu significandi praeter se aliquid | aliud ex se cognosci faciunt.

(b) Naturalia sunt, quae sine voluntate atque ullo appetitu significandi praeter se | aliquid aliud ex se cognosci faciunt.

Priority must be given to (a). For, while significare does occur absolutely, e.g. Cic. De Or. 1.122, the combination of aliquid and aliud meaning 'something else' always occurs in the order aliud aliquid cf. above 1.6 and TLL aliquis I.

2.6. Sed et ..... tristis est: as voluntas is the concept which differentiates signa naturalia and signa data, presumably, though Augustine does not say so, facial expression which is made deliberately rather than involuntarily to express emotion, as orators are recommended to do by Quintilian (11.3.65ff.), would come under the category signa data,

like deliberate gesture, also a rhetorical technique cf. comm. 4.3 and 4.6.

2.9. aut si ..... prodatur: like affectio animi, the phrase motus animi is commonly used in classical authors for 'emotion' cf. TLL motus II.2, and is also an equivalent of Aristotle's τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθήματα cf. comm. 1.6. It is a literal translation of the Greek κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς which occurs in Epicurus (Fr. 131) and Epictetus (Fr. 14).

2.13. atque id ..... suffecerit: it is questionable whether suffecerit is the future perfect indicative or the perfect subjunctive: both would make good sense. However, although there are two examples of the future simple with the perfect infinitive, both in prefatory contexts (Livy, Praef. 3; Tac. Agricola 3.3), I do not know of any true parallel for the future perfect indicative with the perfect infinitive. (A deponent verb would be required for certainty of the future perfect indicative). This suggests that what we have here is the perfect subjunctive.

That the use of the subjunctive would not be unidiomatic is shown by the expression sit satis (Verg. Ciris 4.55; Prop. 1.17.10; Prud. Cath. 3.181) and sufficiat (Aus. Oratio 33, Peiper p.8). For the indiscriminate use of the present and perfect subjunctive, see R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache (Darmstadt, 1971), vol.1 pp.175ff. Avitus, 4.600-601:

hactenus infectus contagia traxerit orbis;
sufficiat regnasse nefas.

provides examples of both the present subjunctive (sufficiat) and the interchangeability of the present and perfect subjunctives (traxerit and sufficiat).

3.1. Data vero ..... quaelibet: cf. Introduction 2.B on the category signa data.

The division of the senses and the intellect, sensa and intellecta, is to be found in Plato, e.g. Timaeus 28a:

τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτά ὄν, τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξατὸν γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, οὔτως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν.

3.6. Horum igitur ..... conscripserunt: an indication of the particular category of signa data which Augustine intends to deal with as the subject matter of books 2 and 3 is given, though it is not until the end of chapter 6 that he finally shows precisely how this fits into the sign theory and discards all other signa data.

Scriptura Sancta

This is the one obvious Christianism in these opening chapters. By the time Augustine was writing, scriptura or scriptura sancta had become established as the normal term for the Bible. In linguistic terms, it represents a semantic shift limiting the meaning of the ordinary Latin word scriptura. The term did not immediately become established in Christian Latin. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.3 pp.103ff., shows that in the Latin version of Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians it is used along with sanctus sermo for Scripture. This latter version is a direct translation of the Greek ὁ ἅγιος λόγος, which eventually gave way to scriptura sancta in later writings.

3.9. Habent etiam ..... removemus: cf. Introduction 2.C for the differentiation of the noises of animals and the speech of men as a topos in classical literature. It is probably to this topos that Augustine is referring, when he dismisses the question as alia quaestio. In the classical authors the topos is sometimes linked to the question of whether language arose according to φύσις or θέσις. Lucretius, following the Epicurean view that language arose φύσει, places both the noises of animals and the speech of men in the same category (cf. C. Bailey, Lucretius De Rerum Natura (Oxford, 1947), comm. bk.5.1028-90). Aristotle, taking the opposite view in the De Interp. 16a, believes that language arose according to θέσις (κατὰ συνθήκην) and is different in this respect from animal noises. Augustine would seem to favour placing the cries of animals in the same category as language, thus following Lucretius and the

φύσις theory, but in so far as that category is called signa data, he is also following Aristotle and the θέσις theory. The difficulty is that in spite of the superficial correlation between φύσις and signa naturalia and θέσις and signa data, the concepts do not match, because of Augustine's introduction of voluntas as the distinguishing feature between the two (cf. Introduction 2.B). It is probably on account of this confusion that Augustine leaves the question unanswered in his own explanation.

4.1. Signorum igitur ..... sensus: in the rest of the chapter examples are given from each of the five senses, sight, lines 3 - 10, sound, lines 10 - 16, smell, lines 16 - 17, taste, lines 17 - 18 and touch, lines 18 - 20.

4.3. Nam cum ..... significant: the use of the head and hands was a most important part of rhetorical technique:

> Quippe non manus solum, sed nutus etiam declarant nostram voluntatem ...
>
> (Quintilian, 11.3.66)

There is a whole section in Quintilian, 11.3.65ff. containing directions for the use of the head and hands in making a speech.

4.6. et histriones ..... fabulantur: for examples of gesture with other parts of the body, Augustine turns to the stage. For, although most of the evidence for gesture in drama, apart from Donatus' commentary on Terence, comes from Quintilian book 11, it was considered improper in oratory to make the same use of gesture as on the stage. At 11.3.88-89, Quintilian remarks that on stage one could suggest a sick man by feeling the pulse of the patient, but concludes:

> quod est genus quam longissime in actione fugiendum.

Or again in 11.3.181, he states:

> non enim comoedum esse, sed oratorem volo.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Augustine quotes the theatre as a further example of visual signs. For while it would undoubtedly be familiar to his readers, opposition to the theatre was a well known topos in Christian Literature, e.g. Tert., Spect.; Min. Fel., 37; Cyprian, Ep. 1.8; Lact., Div. Inst. 6.20, and the reference to gesture with the hands and head would have been adequate to illustrate his point. Augustine himself did not approve of the theatre in the least, regarding it as no more than a school of vice,[1] cf. van der Meer, op. cit., pp.50-54, though he does use it again as an example at 38.7.

4.8. et vexilla ..... ducum: under the Empire, the vexilla, traditionally standards of the cavalry, were used in the legions to mark detachments (vexillationes). The draco was added with the labarum in the late Empire to the traditional standards, cf. H.M.D. Parker and G.R. Watson's article, OCD: signa militaria.

4.11. Nam et ..... sonum: cf. comm. 1.6 and 26.3 on the tuba and cithara respectively. As regards the tibia, Sachs (1), pp.138ff. warns against the translation 'flute':

> 'The pipes on vases and reliefs, Greek and Roman, are not flutes, but double oboes of oriental shape, the sound of which could be as shrill and exciting as the sound of their relatives, the bagpipes of modern Scottish regiments.'

The range of the instrument varied according to the number of holes, three or four in the most ancient, but going up to fifteen. The tone could also be sweet as well as shrill, depending on the size of the reed, the shape of the instrument or the mouthband.

The significance of the sound of the tuba is obvious as it is a military instrument, but that of the cithara and tibia is rather more difficult to fathom. For Augustine and others of the Fathers, the

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[1] see especially Conf. 3.2.

cithara symbolised things terrestrial, as opposed to the psalterium, which symbolised things celestial (cf. comm. 26.2). God was to be praised for all things on earth, both in prosperity and adversity, on the cithara and so this is perhaps the particular significance of the sound of that instrument.

In discussing the musical purpose of the tibia, twin oboes, Sachs refers to Varro's description of one of the tubes as tibia incentiva and the other as tibia succentiva. To explain these terms he refers to the use of succinere in the Early Church to designate the interjection of an Amen or Alleluia by the congregation in response to the psalmody of the soloist and believes that incinere by contrast means 'intone'. He admits to certain musical difficulties in this explanation of the use of the twin oboe, as if one pipe was used to denote the intonation and the other the response. For if such were the case there is no need for twin oboes rather than simply two pipes. However, leaving aside this more technical problem, it may possibly be that the significance of the tibia was in the realm of denoting the versicle and response in a service.

4.16. Nam et ..... dedit: the example of the sense smell, is from the Gospel story of the woman anointing Jesus with spikenard, on the feet according to Joan.12.3-7, or on the head according to Matt. 26.6-11 and Marc.14.3-7. John refers to the odour of it which filled the house, and in all three authorities the significance of the gesture is explained as symbolical of anointing for burial, as Jesus knows that He will soon be crucified.

4.17. et sacramento ..... voluit: taste as a sign is illustrated from the Eucharist, instituted by Jesus, according to Matt. 26.26-28; Marc.14. 22.24; Luc. 22. 9-20; 1 Cor. 11.23-25.

sacramentum

The word occurs frequently in Augustine in a liturgical context, as

here, where it clearly refers to the Eucharistic sacrament, in contrast with mysterium, which is restricted to theological mystery, cf. P.C. Couturier's study of sacramentum in Augustine, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1953) ed. H. Rondet, M. Le Laudais, A. Lauras and C. Couturier, pp.161-332.

It is a calque on the Greek μυστήριον used in the Septuagint, from which the Christian technical term takes its meaning, in precedence over the ordinary Latin meaning of sacramentum as a soldier's oath, containing elements of a religious and juridical nature, cf. A.D. Nock, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, (Oxford, 1972) ed. Z. Stewart, pp. 49ff. and 813ff. ; Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.1 pp.233ff. A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny (Oxford, 1966), 10.96.7, with reference to ERE 'sacraments', claims that the Christian term comes from a popular sense of the word, which has left no trace in extant literature apart from the Christian writers, rather than from the regular Latin usage. Nock and Mohrmann, however, show that the classical meaning of the word does bear some relationship to the Christian usage, and this is more convincing than the argument of Hastings, for which there is no tangible evidence.

Mysterium, the transliteration of the Greek μυστήριον, is generally avoided by the early writers, because it suggests pagan religious rites, though it does occur in the Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum written c.180. Tertullian, the first to use sacramentum extensively, is quite purist in this respect and avoids mysterium altogether: in Praescr. 40.2, sacramenta divina are contrasted with the pagan idolorum mysteria. However, by the time of Ambrose and Augustine, mysterium is regularly used for theological mystery, while sacramentum is limited to ritual and liturgical usage as in the present day 'sacrament'.

4.18. et cum ..... significat: the example of the sense of touch is taken from the Gospel story of the healing of the women with the issue of blood,

when she touches the hem of Jesus' garment , cf. Matt. 9.20-22; Marc 5.25-34; Luc 8.43-48. Fimbria indicates that the versions of Matthew and Luke are being followed by Augustine, as they both refer to the woman touching the fimbria of Jesus' garment, while Mark merely says et tetigit vestimentum eius (5.27).

The fimbriae are the four tassels at the corners of the square cloak (tallith) prescribed as the dress of the orthodox Jew in Num. 15.38f. and Deut. 22.12. The Hebrew in Numbers and Deuteronomy is ṣîṣīṯ and gᵉḏîlîm respectively, but the Septuagint and Vulgate translate consistently by κράσπεδα and fimbriae.

The word does occur in classical Latin, as a proper name, notably Gaius Fabius Fimbria, the friend of Marius, or as in Cicero, meaning the ends of the hair, Pis. 25.

4.20. Sed innumerabilis ..... possem: words are emphasised as the major category of signa data to indicate that it is this category which will form the subject matter of books 2 and 3.

Chapters 5 - 8: The diversity of languages is explained and the obscurity of Scripture exemplified and praised.

5.1. Sed quia ..... sua: the definition of vox and littera, though not the application of the term signa, is typical of that of the grammarians and philosophers in general, cf. Diomedes, G.L. 1.420:

> vox est, ut Stoicis videtur, spiritus tenuis auditu sensibilis, quantum in ipso est. fit autem vel exilis aurae pulsu vel verberati aeris ictu.

The definitions in each of the grammarians are a variation on this theme, but Diomedes is particularly interesting as his definition is attributed by Goetz and Schoell to Varro (De L.L. frag. 111).

5.4. Ista signa ..... meruerunt: Augustine's explanation of the diversity of languages among the nations of the world is quite unscientific, unlike the sign theory of the opening chapters, and is a literal interpretation of the biblical story. In Gen. 11.1-9, the whole earth is of one language until an attempt is made to build a tower whose top will reach heaven. In punishment the Lord makes the people unable to understand one another and so they are scattered abroad, speaking different languages.

The tower mentioned in Gen. is thought to be of the type of the Babylonian zikkurat, rising in seven terraces from the centre of the temple area with a shrine at the top.

There are no known Babylonian versions of the legend. The idea of man trying to reach heaven can be paralleled in the traditional Greek story of Otus and Ephialtes trying to reach heaven by piling Mount Pelion on top of Ossa, cf. Homer, Od. 11.313 ff., but this has no connection with the diversity of language. The traditional classical legend about language takes the view that Mercury gave the alphabet to men (cf. comm. 26.8), but there does not seem to have been the need in legend to explain how the different languages arose.

There are various Hellenistic explanations which are obviously connected with the biblical story, Alexander Polyhistor (Eus. Chron. 1.4); Josephus, Ant. 1.118; Philo, De Conf. Ling. 29ff.; Eupolemus (Eus. Praep. Evang. 9.17); Jub. 10.18-27; Sibylline Orac. 3.98ff.

Epicurus' Letter to Herodotus (75-76) gives a much more rational explanation of the phenomenon. It suggests that the different feelings of the different nationalities were expressed as they wished until eventually by common consent, to avoid confusion and ambiguity, specific names were given to things by the different peoples, cf. also, Plato's

Cratylus, where by contrast the Lawgiver gives names to everything, which is similar to the account in Gen. 2.19 where the creatures are all brought before Adam to be given their names (cf. Bailey, Lucretius 5.1028ff. on Epicurus and Plato. Lucretius himself is silent on the differences of the languages of different nations).

6.1. Ex quo ..... credimus: in stating that Scripture set out from one language, Augustine means Hebrew. He is disregarding the fact that the New Testament was first written in Greek for the sake of parallelism with his description in the previous chapter of the whole earth being of one language.

innotesceret gentibus ad salutem

Innotescere does occur in classical authors, but like all inchoative verbs is more common in Late Latin, cf. Introduction 3.6. The construction of this verb with the dative and ad is unparalleled, but may have been influenced by the biblical use of ad salutem, as in 2 Tim. 3.15:

.... quae te possunt instruere ad salutem.

gentes

The word in this passage is most easily translated as 'people' meaning people in the widest sense and following the ordinary classical usage of the word. There is no need for it to be taken as a technical term meaning pagans and/or Gentiles, cf. E. Löfstedt, Late Latin (Oslo, 1959), pp.74f.

7.5. Quod ..... vilescunt: a belief in the effectiveness of scriptural obscurities in preventing mental laziness occurs frequently in Augustine's thought, especially in conjunction with the phrase prompta vilescunt, cf. J. Pépin, 'Saint Augustin et la fonction protreptique de l'allégorie', Rec Aug. 1 (1958), 245f. and Marrou (1), pp.486-488 for a full list of references.

vilescere

The word is common in Christian Latin, e.g. Jer. Ep. 66.7;

Paul. Nol. Carm. 22.56. Such inchoative verbs were much more numerous in the Vulgar language than classical Latin, an example of the emphasis put on forceful expression and the desire for words of fuller form evident in the popular language, and also apparent in Christian Latin cf. Palmer, op. cit., p.169; Introduction 3.B.

7.7. Quid enim est ..... incorporat: the Christian influence on Augustine's language predominates in this chapter.

(a) sanctos atque perfectos

Christian parallels from the New Testament for both these words are plentiful, e.g.

> estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et pater vester caelestis perfectus est.
>
> (Matt. 5.48)
>
> sed Spiritu Sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei homines.
>
> (2 Pet. 1.21)

as are classical instances e.g.

> sanctissimi viri
>
> (Cic. Lael. 11.39)
>
> oratorem plenum atque perfectum esse
>
> (Cic. De Or. 1.59)

The sentiment sanctos esse homines atque perfectos is easily recognisable as a Christian ideal, but the words have not changed their essential meaning from the Ciceronian usage. For in combination with orator, they mean the qualities which make a perfect orator and similarly in the context of Christianity, it means the qualities which make a good Christian. The variation is merely a contextual one, and this type of Christian usage of language is not to be confused with the 'Christianisms' which indicate a semantic change as in the case of calques or loan words or those involving a semantic shift cf. Introduction 3.B.

(b) Christi ecclesia

Ecclesia is a Greek loan word and the technical term for 'Church' in all senses of the word from the spiritual concept of all Christians to particular groups and eventually the building itself. The word occurs only rarely in Latin before the Christian era as a transliteration of the Greek, when mention is made of the Greek political unit to which it refers, e.g. Pliny, Ep. 10.110, bule et ecclesia. The biblical use of the word in both Greek and Latin reflects the basic meaning of 'a gathering together of people', e.g. in the Old Testament of the Jewish people:

> In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino, de fontibus Israel.
>
> Ps. 67.27.

and in the New Testament of Christians:

> Salutate fratres, qui sunt Laodiciae, et Nympham,
> et quae in domo eius est Ecclesia.
>
> Col. 4.15.

Ecclesia in the New Testament is also used for the Church as the Body of Christ i.e. the spiritual entity consisting of all Christians, e.g.

> In carne mea pro corpore eius (Christi),
> quod est Ecclesia.
>
> Col. 1.24

This is the sense of ecclesia in this passage of the D.C.: such usage is common in the Fathers of ecclesia on its own or with Christi or catholica, s.v. TLL ecclesia Bβ.

The transfer of meaning from 'people' or 'spiritual body' to the church building itself had taken place by the time of Augustine. Ecclesia and basilica are the normal words for the church building. In the choice of these words one of the elements in the development of Christian Latin is evident. For there are indications of an avoidance of the pagan term templum in the transfer of meaning of ecclesia and the choice of basilica, which is a neutral word in pagan terms without

religious significance (cf. Mohrmann, op. cit. vol.3 pp.130ff; vol.4 p.227 respectively and Introduction 3A).

The transfer of meaning of ecclesia, possible dates for this of 303 in Greek and 330 A.D. in Latin and the use of basilica are all discussed in detail by Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.4 pp.211-230.

(c) incorporare

Incorporare becomes almost a technical term for incorporation into the Church in the Fathers, following the Pauline metaphor of the Body of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 10.17; 12.27). It is a calque from the Greek ἐνσωματοῦν.

(d) saeculum

There is a semantic shift in the use of saeculum by the Christians. It has two senses in Christian Latin, one pejorative as here, when it means 'the world', equivalent to the Greek κόσμος the other for the Greek αἰών as in

> Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto:
> Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum.

(e) ad sanctum baptismi lavacrum

Both lavacrum and baptismum/baptisma are used indepently as technical terms for baptism. Lavacrum, though it more usually refers like baptismum/baptisma to the baptism itself, does occur meaning the font at which the baptism takes place (cf. TLL lavacrum II.B.1; Rufin. Hist. 2.1.12; Greg. Tur. Franc. 2.2). It is most likely that lavacrum in this instance means the font, in view of the combination with baptismum which would otherwise merely be a synonym and the parallel in sense which Augustine is drawing through allegorical interpretation with Cant. 4.2., where lavacrum literally means 'bath'.

The two terms illustrate two of the fundamental principles of Christian Latin, the influence of Greek in baptismum and of the Vulgar language in lavacrum, and thus supplant the more cultured tinctio,

which is avoided even by Lactantius, cf. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.3 pp.44 and 49.

7.15. Quid est ergo ..... audiret: Augustine states how delightful he finds allegory compared with a straight rendering of the same thought and quotes Cant. 4.2 as an example.

Allegorical interpretation was much more acceptable in the ancient world than it is today. Of the classical authors, Homer was a favourite for such interpretation from Theagenes in the sixth century B.C. to the Neo-Platonists Proclus and Syrianus in the fifth century A.D. cf. F. Buffiere, Les Mythes d' Homère et la Pensée Grecque (Paris, 1956). In the Hellenistic world, allegorical interpretation predominates in Philo, Origen and the Hermetic Corpus, as well as in Jewish Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament, e.g. 1 Cor. 12.27, cf. R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (London, 1959) and J. Pépin, Mythe et Allégorie (Paris, 1958). There is therefore nothing unusual in Augustine's liking for the subject.

What is remarkable about Christian allegory, especially in the context of the D.C. is the lack of rules for such interpretation: so long as the final exposition is in accord with general Christian teaching, the Fathers can enjoy a free for all in the conclusions which they come to on the basis of allegory, cf. Marrou (1), pp.489ff.

On allegorical interpretation see Introduction C.

On the obscurities of Scripture see comm. 7.5.

7.22. Et tamen ..... transferre: the image of the saints, as the teeth of the Church, tearing men away from their errors, if bizarre, is at least coherent: the sinners are first bitten off (praecidere), then chewed and swallowed, (demorsos mansosque) till finally they arrived inside the body of the Church (in eius corpus).

7.25. Oves ..... video: duo praecepta dilectionis refer to the two commandments in Matt. 22.37-39 cf. comm. 10.2.

8.1. Sed quare ..... inveniri: his views on the advantages of allegory are summed up, cf. comm. 7.15.

8.5. Qui enim ..... marcescunt: in the first of the two antithetical clauses, the need for passages which will merit straightforward non-allegorical interpretation is mentioned for the first time. The discussion thus far has only been about allegory, as some defence was needed for obscurity in Scripture. Augustine now puts forward the other side of the question, admitting that both are necessary and pointing out in the following sentence that the Holy Spirit has so modulated Scripture as to contain them.

marcesco

Another -escere verb in the same category as vilescere cf. comm. 7.5. Marcescere does occur in pre-Christian usage, but it is more common in the patristic period s.v. TLL marcesco. The related adjective immarcescibilis is used by the Fathers in the particularly Christian sense of 'imperishable', 'immortal' s.v. TLL immarcescibilis, cf. 1 Pet. 1.4.

8.11. Nihil enim ..... reperiatur: Augustine's belief that Scripture expresses ideas obscurely in one place and clearly in another saves him from conceiving of biblical interpretation as the prerogative of an intellectual élite.

Chapters 9 - 11: Seven steps to wisdom, the attainment of the full vision of God, are described, in order that the reader may see how scientia, and in particular the study of Scripture which is Augustine's subject matter, fits in with man's search for God in the context of Christianity.

Wisdom.

The choice of wisdom as an ideal of the Christian life is dictated by the subject matter of the work, doctrina christiana, as to Augustine the natural end of doctrina is sapientia. This relationship of the two words can be explained by the classical and scriptural background of sapientia/σοφία.

In classical antiquity "wisdom" had a fundamental connection with education. Σοφία is first used by Homer and Pindar to mean skill in a craft such as carpentry, poetry or medicine (Il. 15.412; Od. 1.117; Pyth. 3.54). From the late fifth century B.C. σοφία was the professed aim of those who taught grammar, rhetoric, politics and mathematics, and in the Empire Professors of Rhetoric were still called sophists. The Latin equivalent sapientia has a similar range of meanings, being used by Cicero of statesmanship, eloquence and jurisprudence (De Or. 2.154; 3.56; 2.144). And so in a book which discusses the teaching and learning process, the doctrina, of any subject, the natural goal is "wisdom".

In the Old Testament "wisdom" is a primary factor in the relationship of God and man. Sophia is an attribute of God, His Spirit which pervades the earth and is to be sought by man (Sap. 1.6-7). The books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, where, along with Proverbs, the concept occurs most frequently, were not part of the canon of Palestinian Judaism, but were accepted by the Greek speaking Jews of the Diaspora, and for Augustine formed part of the canon of Scripture, cf. comm. 13.1ff.

Sapientia is thus the natural aim, not only of doctrina, but also of doctrina christiana. Augustine has drawn together two threads of classical and Judaeo-Christian thought.

The Seven Steps

The concept of steps in the Christian life is a common Christian metaphor. The verb gradior occurs frequently in the Vulgate and patristic authors of progressing along the Christian way. Gradus is especially associated with the fifteen psalms of the Old Testament known as the cantica graduum (Psa. 119-133); these were likened to the steps of the Christian on his ascent to perfection, cf. TLL gradus 2bβ nota hebraica. Although a uniform and systematic treatment of the grades of the Christian life does not occur in the Fathers, individual authors do use the concept: Chromatius, (Beat. 1ff) for example, at the beginning of the fifth century in a sermon on the Beatitudes describes them as the eight steps to the heavenly kingdom, but there is no question of these being treated as a well defined set of rules by which one ascends to heaven. Augustine's treatment of the theme in the D.C. is thus atypical, and it is one of only two places where he presents a systematic outline of the Christian life. The other is De Quant. Animae 33.70-76, where seven stages are similarly described, with the ultimate aim being contemplatio, which is equated with sapientia.

The reason for the type of treatment which Augustine gives here is quite simply clarity, in the context of a technical treatise. Wisdom is the aim of the Christian: Biblical study is the subject of the book, and Augustine must show how the two interlock.

9.1. Ante omnia ..... praecipiat: the first and last steps correspond to the Old Testament maxim, initium sapientiae timor domini. (Psa. 110.10; Prov. 1.7; 9.10; Eccli. 1.16.) It is because of this quotation that

the order of the Seven Gifts of the Spirit (Isa. 11.2) is reversed.

9.3. Timor autem ..... affigat:

(a) The idea of the individual Christian having his own cross to bear and part in the passion of Christ can be traced back to the New Testament: St. Paul, for instance talks of being crucified with Christ (Gal. 2.20). But in the period up to Constantine's conversion, the cross publicly enjoyed a much less central position. Christians were mocked for worshipping a God who had been crucified, a death only fit for criminals and slaves; cf. Lucian, De Morte Peregr. 13; Iust. 1 Apol. 13; 22; Dial. cum Tryph. passim; Orig. C. Cels. 2.44; Min. Fel. Oct. 9.4; 29.2. They were also condemned as worshippers of the cross, crucis religiosi (Tert. Apol. 16.6-8 cf. also Ad. Nat. 1.12; Min. Fel. Oct. 9.4; 29.2.) The pagan attitude to the cross is perhaps best epitomised in the Palatine graffito bearing the inscription Ἀλεξάμενος σέβετε θεόν and showing a worshipper alongside a crucified figure with an ass's head.

However after Christianity became an official religion, and with the report of the discovery of the true cross in 326 during the pilgrimage of Helena to the Holy Sepulchre (Cyril of Jerusalem, Ep. ad Constantium 3, cf. Cat. 4.10; Ambrose, Orat. de obitu Theodos. 39-48; Paul. Nol. Ep. 31 et alii), the cross became publicly a symbol for adoration rather than denigration, and in this context the original Pauline metaphor came to be expanded.

For a similar treatment to Augustine's cf. Leo Magnus, Serm. 70.4:

> ... recurrat ad crucem Domini, et ligno vitae motus noxiae voluntatis affigat; ac voce prophetica ad Dominum clamet et dicat; confige clavis a timore tuo carnes meas; a iudiciis enim tuis timui.

(b) clavatis carnibus

'Nailed flesh' - a unique use of clavatus. The past participle is normally used in two senses, either of bordered clothing or hobnail boots: Paul. Fest. p.56M.

> clavata dicuntur aut vestimenta clavis intertexta aut calciamenta clavis confixa.

9.7. Deinde mitescere ..... possumus: piety, like fear, is associated with wisdom in the Old Testament. In the Septuagint version of Job 28.28 the text reads

> Ἰδοὺ ἡ θεοσέβειά ἐστι σοφία

Augustine quotes this verse in four of his works, and each time translates θεοσέβεια by pietas. (De Trin. 12.[22]; 14.[1]; Ench. 2; De Spirit. et Lit. 1.11; Ep. 167.11.) The Vulgate, influenced by Psa. 110 etc., reads timor.

It is a fundamental tenet of Augustine's philosophy that belief must precede understanding. For this reason pietas, qua belief in Holy Scripture, must precede the third step which is study of the Bible. Augustine's cry, Crede ut intellegas (Serm. 118.1; Tract. in Joh. 29.6) is later taken up by Anselm in the form, Fides quaerens intellectum, which was the original title of his Proslogion. For a discussion of the relationship of faith and understanding in Augustine see E. Gilson, Introduction a l'Étude de Saint Augustin (Paris, 1931), pp.31-47, with bibliography.

10.1. Post istos ..... institui: the relationship of scientia and sapientia is defined both in the Bible and in Stoic writings. The Stoic definition

> Sapientia est rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia

is repudiated by Augustine in De Trin. 14.[3], cf. Contra Acad. 1.6. For

while he admits that both categories, the human and the divine, may come under the heading of scientia or sapientia (De Trin. 13.[1] ff.; 13.[24] ff.; 14.[3]), he prefers to distinguish the two sharply and remain more in accord with Scripture. His main scriptural basis for the distinction is St. Paul's description of spiritual gifts in 1 Cor. 12.8:

> Alii quidem per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiae; alii autem sermo scientiae secundum eundem Spiritum

and Job 28.28:

> Ecce pietas Domini, ipsa est sapientia, et recedere a malo

(Aug. De Trin. 12.[22]; 14.[3]; Enarr. in Ps. 135.8; Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.2.3).

From this evidence Augustine defines scientia as knowledge of things human, sensible phenomena, sapientia as knowledge of the divine and eternal, Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.2.3:

> Et in hominibus quidem haec ita discerni probabiliter solent, ut sapientia pertineat ad intellectum aeternorum, scientia vero ad ea quae sensibus corporis experimur.

Scientia is ambivalent, as worldly wisdom stands on the borderline between an attachment solely to the things of this world and a striving after the divine. Augustine uses it in a pejorative sense when worldly wisdom becomes an end in itself rather than a tool by which one reaches true wisdom, sapientia. (cf. De Trin. 12.[17]-[19]; 14.[21]-[23]). It is with the latter connotations that scientia is presented as the third step and an aid in the process by which one turns from the transient to the eternal.

The scope of scientia as the third step to wisdom is limited to study of Scripture. This is not so narrow a field as it might first appear, as Augustine's purpose is to demonstrate which branches of scientia are necessary and suitable for the study of the Bible and for Christian life.

10.2. Nam in eo ..... tractavimus: cf. Matt. 22.37-39:

> Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic; diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum.

cf. also Deut. 6.5; Marc. 12.30-31; Luc. 10.27.

Book 1 considers the res which underlie the Christian Faith and Scripture, examining God's relationship of love to man through the Trinity and the manner in which man should love God and his fellow men. The two commandments of Jesus form the basis of the discussion of man's love for God and his fellow men (cf. 1.27ff.). The emphasis is on the first commandment, almost to the subordination of the second. In 1.3 the three major divisions of book 1 are made, things to be enjoyed, things to be used and "things" which both use and enjoy. Augustine concludes that God alone is to be enjoyed by men: love of one's neighbour must be for the sake of God (1.20), not for the sake of man.

10.9. Necesse est ..... praescribit: see note above 10.2 on scientia.

10.17. Quo affectu ..... iustitia:

(a) fortitudinis

Along with sapientia, fortitudo is one of the two gifts of the Spirit in Isa. 11.2 to have an equivalent in the seven gifts of Apoc. 5.12; the remaining five attributes as given by St. John are virtus, divinitas, honor, gloria and benedictio.

(b) quo esuritur et sititur iustitia

cf. Matt. 5.6:

> beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam.

11.1. Quam ubi aspexerit ..... persenserit: with the fourth step, attention has turned to contemplation of the eternal: the soul begins to see the light of the Trinity glimmering in the distance. This is the dividing line between scientia and sapientia, the active and the contemplative. In Augustine's thought there are two functions of the mens, the one which

reasonsabout bodily things and is connected with scientia, the other which is concerned for the spiritual and strives for sapientia. (De Trin. 12.[21]-[24]). The ideal is sapientia, the vision of God, towards which the soul turns in the fourth step, but it can never be complete in this world where it is involved in time rather than eternity. The active and the contemplative are therefore mixed and the two functions of the mind are a unity, duo in mente una (De Trin. 12.[3]; 12.[19]). Progress in the contemplative life towards a clearer vision can only be made in proportion to progress in the active life: the two are inextricably bound. Thus in steps five and six, as the vision becomes more vivid, the fulfilment of the two commandments of Scripture becomes greater.

Illumination

The metaphor of light is a common one in Augustine, and a commonplace in Hellenistic thought, both pagan and patristic. In the Republic 517b Plato compares the Good, the sun of the intelligible world, with the corporeal sun of the world of the senses. And, because of his respect for Plato and Plotinus, Augustine is pleased to note the correlation of 'light' in their philosophy and its use by Christians to describe the God of the Nicene creed:

> Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine

and of the Fourth Gospel 1.9:

> lumen verum quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.

(De Civ. Dei. 10.2.)

So common is the metaphor in Augustine that his theory of knowledge is often called 'the Augustinian doctrine of divine illumination'. When an attempt is made to formalise the metaphor into a theory, a philosophical and theological controversy arises over what is due to God in the act of

knowing and what is due to man. A full discussion of this point and the doctrine of illumination appears in Gilson, op. cit., pp.103ff. With regard to the present passage of the D.C. the point seems mainly irrelevant. In the vision of God Augustine is describing mystical experience, which Gilson at least partially excludes from his study (p.108) and the main cause of the problem, the divine ideas which are the archetype of every species created by God (cf. De Div. Quaest. 46), are not mentioned.

11.3. in quinto gradu ..... sordibus: Augustine says in consilio misericordiae rather than in misericordia as the equivalent gift of the Spirit in Isa. 11.2 is consilium.

11.8. Et spe iam plenus ..... possunt: the clearer vision of the sixth step is accompanied by the extension of "love thy neighbour" to include one's enemies. (cf. comm. 11.1) The scriptural authority for this is Matt. 5.44, Diligite inimicos vestros, cf. Luc. 6.17.

In Isa. 11.2, the equivalent stage is called intellectus and the manuscript K contains the reading id est intellectum. The manuscript is correct in equating the two, as the content of the sixth step is in accord with Augustine's views on intellectus (cf. comm. 17.28). The reading of K, however, is more likely to be a Carolingian gloss, of which id est is a common type, than the correct reading, the name intellectus having been overlooked by Augustine.

(a) oculum purgat, quo videri deus potest

Oculus is used in a figurative and non-material sense and is equivalent to oculum cordis in line 19. The non-material sense is emphasised by the addition of cordis in line 19. This emphasis was of prime importance to Augustine as he wished to dissociate himself entirely from the Manichaean materialism which conceived of God

as physical and sensible light, a belief which he had held in his youth (Enarr. in Ps. 25.2.3). For further references and discussion of Augustine's attitude and that of the Neo-Platonists, see Gilson, op. cit., p.105f.

Oculus is commonly used figuratively in Latin. Cicero, for example, uses the phrase mentis oculus in De Or. 3.163. The combination oculus cordis is a development of biblical and ecclesiastical Latin; it occurs in the Itala, Eph. 1.18, Lact., Div. Inst. 6.9.15 et al. (s.v. TLL oculus Bbγ). In Greek ὀφθαλμός καρδίας is also a biblical and patristic phrase, e.g. 1 Clem.36; Thdt. Cant.1.1.

(b) qui huic saeculo moriuntur

The train of thought is typical of St. Paul's writings, cf. Rom. 8.13:

> Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini; si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis.
>
> et passim.

ll.13. Et ideo ..... in caelis: species is one of the technical terms used by Augustine for the divine ideas (De Div. Quaest. 46.). It is unlikely that Augustine is being technical here. (cf. comm. ll.1.)

The sentence contains quotations from three passages of St. Paul:

(a) 1 Cor. 13.12: Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem.

(b) 2 Cor. 5.6-7: Audentes igitur semper, scientes quoniam dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino. Per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem.

(c) Phil. 3.20: Nostra autem conversatio in caelis est; unde etiam Salvatorem exspectamus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

The vision will never be complete here on earth, not even when the

seventh step and sapientia is reached. This is St. Paul's interpretation and Augustine's: cf. De Quant. Animae 33.76.

11.21. Erit ergo ..... vitae: as the use of mundatus indicates, the metaphor of light and the vision of God has a biblical source in the Beatitudes, as well as in the Johannine imagery and Greek philosophy:

> Beati mundo corde quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.
>
> (Matt. 5.8)

11.26. Initium enim ..... Domini: see comm. 9.1.

Chapters 12 - 13: The Canon of Scripture.

The debate over the contents of the Christian canon of Scripture is interminable. Substantial progress was made in the first four centuries: the canon established by the third Council of Carthage in 397, at which Augustine was present, became generally accepted in the West. Old disputes, however, have been resurrected periodically: in the sixteenth century, for instance, the status of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament once more became a major issue. In the age of the Fathers, Augustine's influence was especially important for the inclusion of the O.T. Apocrypha in the canon, see below 13.1.

In such a context Augustine is careful to define exactly what he means by scriptura divina. Only once he has made that clear will it be possible to continue with the basic subject matter of books 2 and 3, the interpretation of the Bible.

12.3. Erit igitur ..... canonicae: the use of κανών/canon and its derivatives κανονικός/canonicus and κανονίζω/canonizo in connexion with the Bible is not common before the middle of the fourth century. The first undisputed occurrence is in Athanasius, De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi 18, written soon after 350, in which he says of the Shepherd of Hermas, μη ὄν ἐκ κανόνος. The derivatives occur in the Latin version of Origen, De Princ. 4.4.6:

in Scripturis Canonicis nusquam ad praesens invenimus

cf. Prol. in Cant.; Comm. in Matt. 27.11, ser. 117, where the Latin translation is regularis not canonicus. On the basis of the latter example and the derivatives of canon only appearing in the Latin version, it has been suspected that κανονικός did not occur in the original Greek but was added by Rufinus. (cf. B.F. Westcott, On the Canon of the New Testament (Macmillan, 1875), pp.503f.). This is unlikely as regularis is an adequate translation of κανονικός (see below p. 85), and in the context there is no reason to suspect that Rufinus added the passage.

In Greek the original meaning of κανών is a rod or ruler used for keeping straight or testing straightness, e.g. Il. 13.407; Eur. Tr. 6. From this, it was extended to mean a model or rule. In ethics for Aristotle the active man was a model, a 'canon', E.N. 1113a33:

ὁ σπουδαῖος ὥσπερ κανὼν καὶ μέτρον

in art, the Doryphorus of Polyclitus was considered a model of perfection (Plin. H.N. 34.55), while in literature, Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions Herodotus and Thucydides as the best models of Attic and Ionic Greek:

Ἡρόδοτος τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανών, Θουκυδίδης δὲ τῆς Ἀτθίδος (Pomp. 3.)

In grammar general rules are 'canons', (Apoll. Dysk. Adv. 141.25), in music, chords ὀκτάχορδος κανών, (Ptol. Harm. 2.2: 3.1), in astrology

and chronology, tables of dates, (Plu. Sol. 27; D.H. 1.74) and in the empire taxes (P. Oxy 2124.10).

The ecclesiastical use of the word is no different from these classical and secular examples of κανών as a model or rule. The Early Fathers refer to a rule of Christian teaching, variously called ὁ κανών τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς πίστεως or τῆς ἐκκλησίας. This is the model on which the Christian life is to be based and refers to the creeds, the proclamations of the Old and New Testaments and the teaching of the Church. It is analogous to the model of Aristotelian ethics. The decrees of the councils are also referred to as 'canons', and the relationship of the Christian to the conciliar decree is similar to that of the word to the paradigm in the 'canons' of grammar. A third usage of the word is its application to Scripture. In this case the aspect of 'canon' as a κατάλογος can be compared and it is also interesting to note the centralisation of three different strands of the secular usage:

(a) the κατάλογος aspect, as in the astrological tables.

(b) the literary aspect, as in the choice of Herodotus and Thucydides as examples.

(c) the philosophical aspect, as in ethics.

For the 'canon' of Scripture is a list of books, a choice of authors and a model of behaviour and doctrine.

Both Westcott, (op. cit., pp.499-506) and Beyer in his article in TWNT (κανών) trace the history of the word, and both in their desire to make the ecclesiastical usage internally self-explanatory attempt to explain away the classical background in favour of a new sense of κανών which they claim has been developed by the Church Fathers. Unfortunately Westcott's major concern is a fictitious secular use of the word. He wishes to deny that the 'canon' of the Greek authors drawn up by the Alexandrian Grammarians is a significant parallel to the 'canon' of Holy Scripture. But the word κανών is never used by the Alexandrians to

describe this list. It was coined by Ruhnken in the 19th century. The reference given by Beyer (Westcott quotes no example) is to a passage in Quintilian (10.1.54) where he explains that Apollonius Rhodius is not included in the Greek authors given by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace as they did not include any of their own contemporaries. The word used by Quintilian is ordo, not canon or the other possible equivalent regula. The original meaning of regula is a straight rod or ruler, like κανών in Greek, and its usage is extended to mean a model or rule cf. Caes. B.C. 2.10; Cic. Brut. 41.152; Tert. De Pud. 8. It is in discussion of this passage of Quintilian in the 19th century that D. Ruhnken coins the word 'canon' (Opuscula oratoria, philologica, critica, vol.1 pp.385-392), and in discussion of this and other related passages scholars have since referred to the 'Alexandrian canon'.

Further attempts to show that the patristic use of κανών/canon is quite unique are made by showing that none of the secular examples is an adequate parallel, and by enumerating the nuances of the different ecclesiastical usages explained above. Both of these arguments are inadequate. Firstly, the meaning of a word is the sum total of its usage so the method is wrong in isolating instances of its occurrence as parallels, and secondly there is no concrete evidence to show that the Fathers either tried to adopt one particular meaning of κανών, or to change its meaning. They simply used the appropriate Greek word for what they wished to express. Parallels can only be drawn in so far as the subject matter is of the same type. Above we could compare the rule of Christian teaching with the 'canon' in Aristotle's ethics because both were dealing with behaviour and ways of life. Likewise in the three strands of the 'canon' of Scripture, the subject matter in each could be classified as similar. None of these are an exact parallel, but this is no reason to claim that 'canon' in an ecclesiastical sense is different

from the secular concept. It is only different in so far as all instances of 'canon' are different, viz. in the subject matter to which the term is being applied. Obviously this means that there will be different nuances attached to the word, but this is equally true of the different secular examples of canon which have been quoted. Essentially the word remains the same; in both the secular and the religious world it is a standard or rule. In patristic literature there is a development of the concept, but this is only in so far as it is applied to a new area. The same development occurred when 'canon' was first applied to art or astrology.

One other difficulty in the particular application of 'canon' to Holy Scripture is noted by both Westcott and Beyer, the question of whether the meaning is active or passive. They hold that the explanation of the scriptural canon as, 'that by which one measures the Christian life and doctrine' is wrong, and that, although eventually this is how the canonical books are treated, it is not the meaning of 'canon' when first applied to the Bible. They claim that at first it is passive in sense, the books which have been judged by the Church as worthy of inclusion in the 'canon'. This is an irrelevant distinction of meaning, and every 'canon' is both that by which one measures and that which measures. Taken at its simplest, a ruler, the literal sense of the Greek word, is that which is measured off, and also that by which one measures other things. And Scripture has always been both. For in the Early Fathers, and at the Council of Nicaea in 325, Scripture is described as the basis of all doctrine, even before it has been firmly decided which books are to be categorised as Scripture. The sense of Scripture as a yardstick is not lost, but enhanced by applying the term 'canon' to it, as every 'canon' is a yardstick of something. 'Canon' then is the natural Greek word to be used for the standard books of Scripture. It is not common in the first few centuries, because until then there was no concrete

definition of Scripture. But gradually with the growth of Christianity, and the rise of heresies such as Donatism, Montanism and Arianism, it became necessary to make declarations about orthodox belief, and Scripture became subject to them. These declarations or 'canons' were made by the Church as a whole at the Ecumenical Councils, and by authoritative figures within the Church, like Athanasius who is the first to list the books of Scripture as a 'canon' in his Easter Letter of 367. Thus in the latter half of the fourth century 'canon' becomes commonly used of the books of the Bible, and the Greek word is naturally taken over into Latin, as is the general practice for technical terms.

For an introduction to the history of the canon see J.N.D. Kelly [2] Early Christian Doctrine (London, 1958), pp.52ff. and W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (London, 1972), pp.334ff. with bibliographies.

12.6. Nam ceteras ..... intellegentiam:

(a) ceteras

There are a number of works mentioned in the Fathers and obviously widely read which were not received into the canon, and it is to these that Augustine is referring. The most important are:

(1) The writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

The Epistle of Clement: quoted by Irenaeus, Haer. 3.3.3, Clement of Alexandria, Strom., 1.7.38, Origen, De Princ. 2.3.6 and many later writers. It was publicly read in the church at Corinth and elsewhere, Eus. E.H. 3.16; 4.23; Jer., De Vir. Ill.15, and is included with the second spurious epistle in the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint, though it is placed after the Apocalypse.

The Epistle of Barnabas: held in high esteem at Alexandria because of its connection with the Apostle Barnabas,

Clem. Alex. Strom. 2.6.31, it was classed as apocryphal by Jerome and Eusebius (De Vir. Ill. 6 and E.H. 3.25.4 respectively). The Sinaitic manuscript of the Septuagint includes it after the Apocalypse.

The Shepherd of Hermas: quoted with respect by the Greek Fathers, (e.g. Origen, Hom. in Jerem. 1) it was also widely known in the West. It occurs in the Sinaitic manuscript of the Septuagint, along with the Epistle of Barnabas, and in Latin Bibles. Jerome (Pro. in Libros Samuel et Malachim PL vol.28 p.602 cf. Ep. ad Paulinum 53.9) records its partial reception into the canon, but it is positively excluded by him as well as by Eusebius and Athanasius, (E.H. 3.25.4 and Ep. Heort. 39 respectively).

(2) Writings claiming apostolic authority.

The Didache: the 'so-called Teaching of the Apostles' was widely known throughout the church, and hovered on the brink of the canon, Eusebius classes it as a spurious and disputed work, accepted by some churches and not by others. (E.H. 3.25.4). Its importance is shown by Athanasius: for while he does not include it in the canon of his Festal Letters (Ep. Heort. 39) written in 367, he recommends it, along with the Shepherd of Hermas, alone of the writings associated with the New Testament, to be read by catechumens.

Gospel according to the Hebrews: quoted by many of the Fathers, it was translated into Latin by Jerome and is several times referred to by him. (Dial. contra Pelag. 3.2; De Vir. Ill. 2)

Various works attributed to Peter: the Gospel attributed to Peter is evidently in use at Rhossus in Cilicia (Eus. E.H. 6.12.1), the preaching is quoted frequently by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. 1.29.182; 6.5.39; 6.6.48; 6.15.128), once by Gregory of Nazianzus, Ep. ad Caes. 1 and the Apocalypse is recorded in the Muratorian Canon, though with the qualification that some

will not have it read in Church, as well as being written on by Clement of Alexandria (Eus. E.H. 6.14.2).

(b) fide veritatis instructus

For Augustine canonical Scripture was the basis of the Christian Faith and Doctrine: it is from this starting point that a man becomes instructed in the true faith. It is interesting to note that in both the Latin and the Greek Fathers the words fides and veritas are used in combination with κανών/canon as a formula for the teaching contained in Scripture. Irenaeus frequently refers to the κανὼν ἀληθείας, and suggests that a firm grasp of this canon received at baptism would prevent a man from distorting the sense of Scripture. (Haer. 1.9.4) The canon is the orthodox teaching of the Church which is based on Scripture. Tertullian uses the phrase regula fidei in the same sort of way to refer to orthodoxy when dealing with heretics. The latter, he complained, were able to make of Scripture what they liked because they disregarded the regula fidei. (De Pud. 8). Another phrase used in this way is κανὼν ἐκκλησίας/ἐκκλησιαστικός cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.15.25:

> κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συνῳδιά καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδομένῃ διαθήκῃ

Augustine's concern in the whole of the De Doctrina Christiana is to lay down principles of interpretation of Scripture consonant with the orthodox teaching of the Church. Scripture and Doctrine are two sides of the same coin: Scripture is the basis of all doctrine, and the orthodoxy of the doctrine is the test for the correct interpretation of Scripture. (For a refutation of the view that Irenaeus and other Patristic authors subordinated Scripture to unwritten tradition, referred to as ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας etc. see Kelly (2) pp.38ff.). Thus the history of the words fides and

veritas in the context of canon is especially relevant here.

12.9. In canonicis ... sequatur: universality is noted as a characteristic of Christianity from the writings of the New Testament on. At the end of Matthew's Gospel, the disciples are told to baptise all nations, Paul is known as the Apostle to the Gentiles and in the Didache and the Epistle of Polycarp there are references to this distinguishing feature of Christianity.

Ignatius of Antioch is the first to use the expression Catholic Church (Smyrn. 8). It is in the Donatist controversy that the concept ecclesia catholica becomes firmly established. The Donatists claimed to be the exclusive possessors of the only pure tradition and claimed that the pars Donati was the one true church. Yet apart from one church in the hills outside Rome, the only churches they possessed were in Africa. In this context the orthodox church which stretched from East to West throughout the Empire became known as the Catholic Church. Optatus of Milevis is the first author to attack the Donatists and he condemns them for their isolation compared with the Catholic Church which spans the world. Augustine in his prolonged controversy with the Donatists also attacks them for their isolation. It is, he claims, the worldwide extension of the Catholic Church with its centre at Rome, which marks it off from the sects, each of which flourishes in a particular locality. (Enarr. in ps. 49.3, cf. 127.3; 1.5, Serm. 46.32) cf. comm. 7.7(b) on ecclesia catholica.

12.11. quae .... meruerunt: special mention is made of churches which the apostles founded and churches which received epistles by Irenaeus and Tertullian (Ir., Haer. 3.1-3; Tert., De Virg. Vel. 2. cf. Adv. Marc. 4.5; Praescr. 20f.; 32; 36.) Neither they nor any of the other Fathers provide a full list of these churches: this is not surprising, as their concern was to show that the Catholic Church, unlike the heretics, was

united in doctrine and that this doctrine was part of an unbroken tradition from the Apostles to whom every bishop could trace back his lineage. Unfortunately Irenaeus' plea of tediousness has left us without a full list. (Haer. 3.3.2)

The churches which he and Tertullian do mention are Rome, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Galatia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyiatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicaea. The first six of these are recipients of Pauline epistles, apart from any claim they may have to being founded by an Apostle (Rome, for instance is the city of Peter and Paul): the last seven are the churches mentioned in the Apoc. 1.11 ; Ephesus falls into both categories.

From the canonical epistles of the New Testament it is not possible to complete the list of churches which received epistles as the recipients of the letters are not always clearly named. For attempts by modern scholars to trace these churches see Kümmel, op. cit. on the individual letters.

The Acts of the Apostles is another source for early foundations, but tradition elaborated on this and attached the name of particular Apostles to particular churches. In the case of the church at Antioch, its foundation is attributed to St. Peter though there is no clear mention of this in Acts, where the names of Peter, Paul and Barnabas are all associated with it.

Apostolus

Apostolus and its derivatives are members of the class of Greek loan words with Hebrew origins. For the relationship of the Greek and Hebrew see TWNT ἀποστολὸς.

Apostle in the New Testament is not merely applied to the Twelve, but also to those sent out on mission as, for instance Barnabas in Act.14.13 and 1 Cor. 9.6. And in later times Tertullian describes the orthodox churches as those founded by apostles or apostolici viri, by which he means those to whom the Apostles gave authority. (De Praescr. 32).

Bishops are also referred to as apostles in the third century. But the names of the Twelve and their contemporaries or successors in the first century, such as Paul who repeatedly calls himself an apostle (e.g. Rom. 1.1; 1 Cor. 9.1) or the evangelists Mark and Luke, traditionally companions of Peter and Paul respectively, were of special significance.

In the fourth and early fifth centuries the main churches were the four great patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome. Each of these has a claim to being founded by an Apostle, Antioch by Peter, Alexandria by Mark, Constantinople by Andrew and Rome by Peter and Paul. The authority of Antioch, Alexandria and Rome was confirmed by the Council of Nicaea in 325 and after Constantine moved his seat of government in the east to Byzantium (Constantinople) it was natural for that to become an authoritative ecclesiastical see, as well. In the Council of Constantinople in 381, it was declared that Constantinople was second only to Rome. The importance of apostolic ancestry is shown by the development of the legend that Andrew founded the church at Constantinople: this tradition can only be traced back as far as the apocryphal work of pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre c.525.

The criterion of apostolicity for the writings of the New Testament is apparent from the earliest times. 2 Clement names the Old Testament and the Apostles together as the authorities for teaching (14. τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι). Justin emphasises that the Gospels were composed by the Apostles or those who followed them like Mark and Luke (Dial. 103). As disputes about which writings were apostolic grew, the further criterion of recognition by the churches was added. Thus in the Muratorian fragment the qualification is added to the Apocalypse of Peter that "some of us do not wish it to be read in church" (quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt). Origen too, when distinguishing between the class of books which he calls undisputed (ἀναντίρρητα) and the ἀμφιβαλλόμενα or disputed works, gives as the criterion the recognition or rejection of a

writing as authentic or apostolic by the majority of churches. (See Eus. E.H. 6.25.2 and passages in Th. Zahn, Gründriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons (Leipzig, 1904), p.42, n.3).

12.12. Tenebit ..... puto: within the canon of Scripture as accepted by the Council of Carthage and enumerated by Augustine in chapter 13 were certain 'disputed books' and it is to these that Augustine is referring when he gives rules for an order of precedence. (see below Chapter 13).

For the authoritative churches see comm.12.11. Rome the only Apostolic See in the West, held the supreme position in Augustine's time. In both East and West it enjoyed a special prestige among the great patriarchates, but there is no evidence that any of the Fathers attributed to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter a sovereign and infallible doctrinal magisterium (see Kelly (2), pp.406-8 and 417-421). Thus Augustine appeals to the weight of opinion in the authoritative Catholic churches concerning the canon of Scripture.

13.1. Totus autem ..... auctoritas: Augustine first enumerates the forty-four books of the Old Testament to be included in the canon. The Christian Church had taken over the sacred books of the Jews at the very beginning of its history and for the first hundred years at least Scripture consisted entirely of the Old Testament. Writers like Clement of Rome, Barnabas or Justin, when they refer to Scripture mean almost always the Jewish writings, e.g. 1 Clem. 34; 35; Barnabae epistola 4; 5; 6; Justin Dial. passim. The Christian canon which Augustine gives includes a number of books not in the official list of Jewish Scripture drawn up by the Rabbis at the Council of Jamnia in 90 A.D. Josephus states that the official Hebrew Bible consisted of twenty-two or twenty-four books, Josephus Ap. 1.8 cf. 2(4) Esd. 14.44-46. The discrepancy between the totals of Josephus and Augustine is not so great as it may seem. The numbers of twenty-two and

twenty-four are arrived at by reckoning 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles and 12 minor prophets as one book each to reach 24, and by attaching Ruth and Lamentations to Judges and Jeremiah respectively to make twenty-two (Kelly (2), p.53, for variations in the reckoning see A.C. Sundberg, 'The O.T. of the Early Church', HTR 51 (1958) 220). The books which Augustine has added are therefore Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, Esdras, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

It is now a matter of dispute amongst scholars how these extra books came to be added to the Jewish Scripture as fixed at the end of the first century. Since the seventeenth century it has been thought that these apocryphal books were accepted in Alexandria and from there circulated throughout the Diaspora and were accepted by the Christian Church. More recently Sundberg (op. cit. 205-226) has shown that the evidence for this hypothesis is suspect. Pointing to evidence that a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures was circulating in Palestine in the first century which could have included literature expelled from the official list at Jamnia, he suggests that it was from here the Christian Church obtained their Old Testament.

In the Patristic Age the dispute was of a slightly different nature. In the first few centuries some writers like Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian and Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus and the Apostolic Fathers treated the Apocrypha as Scripture without question, while others, especially in the East, taking note of the Jewish rejection, questioned its authority, e.g. Melito of Sardis, Eusebius tells us, after visiting Palestine declared that the Hebrew canon was the authoritative one. (E.H. 4.26.13ff) and Origen suggested that in disputing with the Jews only their canon should be recognised (Ep. ad Afric. 4f.). In the fourth century the Eastern Fathers placed the apocryphal books in

a subordinate position to the canon proper as they saw it. (Athan., Ep. Heort. 39; Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 4.33; 4.35f; Greg. Naz., Carm. 1.12; Epiphanius, Haer. 8.6; 76.5). In the West those with Eastern contacts expressed doubts. Hilary though citing all of them as inspired prefers the Old Testament proper as the Hebrew Scriptures (Tract. in Ps.2 Praef. 15). Rufinus describes the extra books as not canonical but ecclesiastical, i.e. not to be used as authoritative for doctrine. Jerome declared that anything not in the Hebrew was apocryphal and outwith the canon, Praef. in Mal, cf. Praef. in Ezr.; Epp.53.8; 107.12.

Augustine and the African Church on the other hand were willing to accept the Apocrypha and the decrees on the canon from the synods of Hippo in 393 and the third Council of Carthage in 397 include it in the Old Testament. From then onwards in the West there is general acceptance of the Apocrypha, until the sixteenth century. A few individuals such as Gregory of Tours express doubts about its authenticity. At the Reformation, however, the Protestants rejected the Apocrypha in its entirety as Scripture and the Catholics at the Council of Trent declared it to be deutero-canonical.

Augustine could be said to be a precursor of Trent in his statement in chapter 12 that the disputed books are of lesser authority: but in the enumeration of the canon he makes no distinction between these and the other books.

The Books of the Apocrypha

The Apocrypha in present day editions of the Bible contains a number of books not mentioned by Augustine. These are not necessarily later additions or books excluded by him, for certain of the Apocrypha were associated with books in the Hebrew canon. The extra books would be included thus, the two books of Esdras with Ezra, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy with Jeremiah (alternatively the Epistle could be classed with

Lamentations), the rest of Esther with canonical Esther, the Song of the Three Holy Children, Susannah and Bel and the Dragon as additions to the book of Daniel and the Prayer of Manasses with the second book of Kings or Chronicles. (cf. Sundberg op.cit. 222).

13.6 deinde quattuor Regnorum: the reference is to 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings.

13.12. et Esdrae duo: the two canonical books of Ezra are Ezra and Nehemiah.

13.16. Nam ..... perhibetur: in Retract. 2.30.2, Augustine withdraws the opinion that Wisdom was written by Jesus the son of Sirach:

> In secundo sane libro de auctore libri, quem plures vocant Sapientiam Salomonis, quod etiam ipsum sicut Ecclesiasticum scripserit, non ita constare, ut a me dictum est, postea didici et omnino probabilius conperi non esse hunc eius auctorem.

13.28. His ..... auctoritas: Augustine apologises for this use of the phrase 'old testament' in the Retract.30.3:

> Ubi autem dixi: his quadraginta quattuor libris testamenti veteris terminatur auctoritas, ex consuetudine, qua iam loquitur ecclesia, vetus testamentum appellavi; apostolus autem non videtur appellare testamentum vetus, nisi quod datum est in monte Sina.

Testamentum

Testamentum is the Latin equivalent of Greek διαθήκη. The Greek is the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew בְּרִית. The more natural Greek translation would have been συνθήκη as the Hebrew word means a covenant between two parties, whereas διαθήκη is the will or testament of one person to another. But the Septuagint version became standard and testamentum the recognised equivalent in Latin took over from

instrumentum, the other word used by the Latin Fathers for Scripture. (s.v. TLL instrumentum, 1.B.2).

13.29. novi autem quattuor librorum euangelio: the editors of the CC and CSEL texts prefer the reading librorum euangelio, albeit poorly attested, to libris euangelii, the reading of several manuscripts. The parallelism of quattuor libris euangelii with quattuordecim epistolis Pauli (1.31) suggests that this latter alternative is the correct reading. In addition a genitive of author or content dependent on liber is very common in both classical and later Latin. (s.v. TLL liber, B. and D.)

13.29. secundum Matthaeum ..... Apocalypsi Iohannis libro uno: The books of the New Testament.

During the first two centuries the Church had gradually compiled its own corpus of writings, the New Testament, to be regarded as Scripture and placed alongside the Jewish Bible. The Apostolic Fathers show a knowledge of some of the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels. 1 Clement, for instance, refers to Paul's epistles to the Romans and Corinthians (35; 47 cf. 37; 49). Ignatius knows Colossians as well as Romans and 1 Corinthians (Eph. 18; Rom. 5; 9; Smyrn. 1; Magn. 1) and the Epistle of Polycarp shows contact with Matthew and Luke. Of even greater importance is the way in which 2 Clement and the Epistle of Barnabas quote some of the sayings of Jesus. For the formula which they use corresponds with their method of quoting the Old Testament and thus the new Christian Scripture is emerging. 2 Clement introduces the Old Testament with λέγει ἡ γραφή (14.) and Matt. 9.13 is prefaced by καὶ ἕτερα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει The Epistle of Barnabas introduces Matthew 22.14 with the phrase repeatedly used for the Old Testament, ὡς γέγραπται.

The authority of the new Scripture grew. In the latter half of the second century Justin Martyr reports that the memoirs of the Apostles are read as part of the Sunday worship (1 Apol. 67) and by these he means the Gospels (1 Apol. 66). And at the end of the century the Muratorian fragment gives a list of the books to be received and read publicly in

the Catholic Church. At this stage the idea of a Christian New Testament as authoritative as the Old is firmly established; what is still uncertain is the corpus of books which make up the new Scripture.

Apostolic and ecclesiastical authority were the criteria for a book being recognised as Scripture, but until the fourth century there was no agreed statement on the canon of the New Testament and various books were disputed at one time or another. (See above 12.11). From citations in the Church Fathers it is possible to determine which books these were. In the middle of the third century in the West, the works of Cyprian, especially his Testimonia, cite only 1 John and 1 Peter among the Catholic epistles, and Hebrews does not appear at all.

The Epistle to the Hebrews had been in dispute in the West for two reasons, firstly whether or not it was written by Paul and secondly whether or not it was canonical. In the West Tertullian ascribes the letter to Barnabas, and Ambrosiaster and Pelagius limit themselves to fourteen Pauline epistles, though recognising Hebrews as canonical. The African Canon Mommsenianus, dating from around 360, omits Hebrews from its list. In the East however the dispute over Hebrews had been extinguished by the fourth century. Eusebius writing at the beginning of the century declares Hebrews to be both Pauline and one of the recognised books (E.H. 3.25.5) and Athanasius, Ep. Fest. 39, written in 367, agrees with this opinion. This attitude was to have an influence on the West. Churchmen like Hilary of Poitiers and Jerome who lived in the East for a time regard it as canonical. Jerome made the Athanasian New Testament the basis for his revision of the Latin N.T. (Ep. 53.9, to Paulinus) and accepted Hebrews, though he did not suppress his doubts about its Pauline origin (cf. De Vir. Ill. 5). Under his influence Augustine follows the Athanasian canon and cites Hebrews as the last of the fourteen Pauline epistles. The canons of the synods of Hippo and Carthage say of the Pauline epistles

Pauli apostoli epistulae tredecim. Eiusdem ad Hebraeos una.

It is only with a new synod in 419 that it is declared

Pauli apostoli epistulae quatuordecim.

Augustine, while he always regards Hebrews as canonical, only quotes it as Pauline in his writings down to 406. Thereafter he wavers between Pauline authorship and anonymity, and from 409 to 430 refers to it always as anonymous. (See A. Souter, The Text and Canon of the New Testament (London, 1935), p.191).

The five disputed Catholic epistles, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude, were established in the same way as Hebrews. Accepted by Athanasius in the East, Jerome included them in the canon, though he did express doubts about their Apostolic origin and with Augustine they are firmly established. (cf. De Vir. Ill. 1; 2; 4; 9).

13.32. ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses duabus, ad Colossenses: this order is confirmed by the genuine Augustinian Speculum and by the Epistula ad Catholicos, 12.31. Contra Partem Donati post Gesta 4.4 contradicts it, in favour of the order found in the New Testament at the present time of Philippians, Colossians and 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

13.36. et Apocalypsi Iohannis libro uno: the position of the Apocalypse is the reverse of that of the Catholic Epistles. Cited in the Muratorian fragment, it is recognised by the Western Church from the first centuries to the firm declarations on the canon around 400: in the East the picture is quite different. Dionysius of Alexandria, writing around 260, declared that the author of the Apocalypse was certainly not the author of the Gospel or the first epistle of John, and from then on faith in the Apocalypse was shaken in the East. For although Athanasius includes it in his canon of 367, the attitude of the Cappadocian Fathers, Chrysostom and Theodoret was not in favour of it. The Quinisextine Council in 692 issued two canonical lists, one with the Apocalypse and one without, and

the Apocalypse did not finally prevail in the Greek Church until the tenth century. (cf. Kümmel, op. cit., p.350.)

Chapters 14 - 22: Textual Criticism.

With the Canon now established in chapters 12 and 13, Augustine can proceed with his precepts for Scriptural exegesis. In chapter 14 he advises familiarity with the text as the first step, in 15 he outlines how he will deal with his subject in books 2 and 3 in terms of the theory of signs and in 16 - 22 he deals with textual criticism in the modern sense.

14.1. In his ..... dei: the first two of the seven steps to wisdom which he deals with in chapter 9 are mentioned as prerequisites for the study of Scripture. Timor Dei and pietas are the two preceding scientia, by which he means knowledge of Scripture (10.1-17; 12.1-3).

14.2. Cuius operis ..... habere: the first task for the student of Scripture is to familiarise himself with the text, to read it and commit as much to memory as possible, before he attempts to understand its intricacies. This has already been mentioned in 12.3-6.

As Marrou (1) p.424 points out, Augustine is here following the standard teaching of the grammaticus. Varro divides grammar into four parts:

> Artis grammaticae officia .... constant partibus quattuor: lectione, enarratione, emendatione, iudicio.
>
> (De L.L. fr.109 G. & S.)

Lectio, while it involved reading with expression and attention to correct pronunciation, rhythm etc. with which Augustine would not presumably be too concerned, given his remarks on the pronunciation of ignoscere in 19.24-26, also involved recitatio, learning by heart. Augustine himself recalls having to learn by heart passages of the Aeneid in Conf. 1.13.20. He is thus applying the principles of his classical education to the Bible, by starting with lectio.

Apart from the general need to read a text before attempting any exegesis or emendation, there were two particular reasons in antiquity for the emphasis on lectio. Firstly, there was no word division or punctuation in the texts and, secondly, the difficulty of consulting manuscripts meant a heavy reliance on memory for which careful reading was necessary. Both these conditions applied to the Bible at the time when Augustine was writing. Difficulties in word division and punctuation are dealt with in book 3.3-8. The reliance on memory is emphasised again at the end of chapter 14.

14.6. vel praecepta vivendi vel regulae credendi: regula credendi appears to be a variation of the phrase regula fidei from the Greek κανὼν πίστεως. It is used widely by the Church Fathers, both Eastern and Western, to mean the body of truth drawn from Scripture and in accordance with the authority of the Church. It is neither a fundamentalist doctrine, nor a formal creed, cf. comm. 12.7.

14.8. In his enim ..... tractavimus: the reference is to book 1.27-44 where spes and caritas are treated. Book 1 has dealt with Augustine's theology of the res which the signa of Scripture are about.

14.14. ad obscuriores locutiones illustrandas de manifestioribus: cf. 8.9-13 where Augustine states that nothing is said in an obscure fashion in

Scripture which is not said clearly somewhere else in the Bible.

14.16. In qua re memoria valet plurimum: cf. comm. 14.2.

15.1. Duabus autem causis ..... translata: the method of understanding what has been read is now dealt with. Lack of understanding is due to the signa being either unknown or ambiguous. The rest of book 2 is spent on how to understand signa ignota, while book 3 deals with signa ambigua and how to tell whether or not a sign is ambiguous. Each of these two divisions is further subdivided into signa propria, literal signs, and signa translata, figurative signs. Ignota signa propria are discussed in 2.16-22, ignota signa translata in 2.23ff.: ambigua signa propria are discussed in 3.2-8, ambigua signa translata in 3.9ff.

For a discussion of the sign theory and its subdivisions, see Introduction 2.

15.10. sed rursus ..... infrenabis: St. Paul in 1 Tim. 5.18 quotes Deut. 25.4 and interprets 'the ox' figuratively as a reference to preachers and teachers of the Gospel. There is, however, a much more specific interpretation of 'the ox' than St. Paul's. The four beasts mentioned in Revelation (e.g. 4.4-6) and described in Ezekiel 1.5.10 as creatures with the faces of a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle were interpreted amongst the Fathers as symbols of the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John respectively (e.g. Ambrose, Expos. in Luc. Pro. 7; Jerome, Comm. in Matt. Praef. 55ff.). In view of this and Augustine's statement that bos means euangelista, there is possibly an implicit reference to Luke here.

Chapters 16 - 22: Emendatio

Augustine now moves on to the third part of grammar, emendatio. His attitude to textual criticism is typical of antiquity, eclectic compared with the 'scientific methods' of the present day. There is no

attempt at collection of all the manuscripts, collating their readings, rejecting some as copies of other extant manuscripts and considering the relationship of the manuscripts. Each case is treated in isolation from the variant readings of manuscripts which happen to be at hand. Marrou (1) pp.22ff. comments that this method and the choice of the 'correct reading' based on subjective judgement of the author's style and the sense of the text, is a fusion of textual and literary criticism quite unlike modern scientific methods. In this he is being rather unfair to the commentators of antiquity, whether it is a question of Servius on Vergil or Augustine on the Bible. For any textual point must involve consideration of the author's style and be considered on its own merits. Augustine does have a notion of versions which provide a better text than the others, as his remarks on the Itala and Septuagint show. He is, in any case, not attempting to make an edition of the Bible such as Jerome with his revision of the Gospels and his Vulgate of the Old Testament, but rather to point out the pitfalls one must be aware of in dealing with the texts of the Old Latin Bible.

Enarratio and Iudicium

Enarratio, the second part of grammar, is not formally mentioned, but its principles are followed. It refers to the commentary and explanation of the text, and, as any of the commentaries such as Servius show, in antiquity this involved a word for word explanation. In the D.C. books 2 and 3 Augustine is essentially dealing with how to interpret Scripture and provide it with a commentary, so his remarks outside of 2.16-22, which deal with emendatio and 3.3-8 which deal with lectio (word division and punctuation), are all pertinent to enarratio. His own commentaries are very much in the form of a word by word explanation in the classical tradition. This was admirably suited to the Bible, where each word was taken as of immense significance. The same attitude is

evident in Jerome's statement about biblical translation, compared with translation of Origen or any other Greek author:

> Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere e sensu.
>
> Ep. 57, to Pammachius.

Iudicium represented a review of the preceding analysis of the other three parts and in Marrou's words, 'constituait un jugement esthétique définitif sur l'oeuvre étudiée'. ((1) p.21). As far as Augustine and the Bible are concerned, Marrou claims that iudicium played no part, for the Bible was not a work of art to be judged but an inspired book. It is true that Augustine starts off from the premiss that the Bible is inspired and therefore as well written as possible, but he does form an aesthetic judgement about it and defends it in book 4 of the D.C., where he advocates that the Christian writer should take it as his standard as against the great masters of the classical period.

16.2. Et latinae ..... infinita varietas:

(a) hebraea scilicet et graeca

Augustine could be said to know a little Greek and even less Hebrew, which is perhaps why he qualifies this statement in chapter 19 by saying that one must either know the languages or have a 'consultant expert' on hand.

Augustine's knowledge of Greek has long been a matter of dispute amongst scholars. Marrou (1), pp.27-46 devotes a chapter to Augustine's

knowledge of the language and summarises and gives a bibliography of the debate thus far. His conclusions are convincing. Augustine learned Greek and read Homer as part of his education. His statement in a reply to Paetilianus about the word καθολικός:

> et ego quidem graecae linguae perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil.
>
> Contra litteras Paetiliani, 2.38.91.

is a rhetorical figure of speech and not to be taken literally. However, as his use of quotation shows, his reading of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus appears to have been in the Latin translations made by Cicero, Marius Victorinus and Apuleius rather than in the original. The use of Greek in his own works is limited to technical terms of grammar, rhetoric or Christian Latin (Greek loan words). He does not freely use the language as Cicero and Jerome do, especially in their letters. He thus has an academic mastery of the language, sufficient for Biblical criticism and technical terms, much as the modern scholar may 'know' German or French sufficient for reading 'Pauly-Wissowa' or other learned articles in a foreign language; but he is not fluent in the language.

Augustine is not known to have spent any time learning Hebrew, like St. Jerome. His works show his knowledge of the language as severely limited. Marrou (1), pp.435ff; pp.481ff, has collected a number of passages where a knowledge of Hebrew would have solved Augustine's problem e.g. in the commentary on Gen. 1.20 where the Latin, and indeed the A.V. and R.V., seem to say that waters bring forth moving creatures, while the Hebrew means 'swarm with swarms of living creatures'. For further examples of this lack of knowledge of Hebrew, see comm. 20.6.

Augustine's aversion to the Hebrew original and support of the Septuagint against Jerome's Vulgate translated from the Hebrew is

well known. For further discussion, see comm. 22. It may be noted, however, that in this instance a knowledge of Hebrew is being advocated only for Hebrew words such as Amen, which occur in both the Greek and Latin texts untranslated: none of the examples provide an appeal to the Hebrew over the Greek version.

(b) latinorum interpretum infinita varietas

There were numerous versions of the Bible in Latin at the time of Augustine. It was only after Jerome's Vulgate that a standard Latin version gradually came into being. A number of these Old Latin translations are still extant. H. Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata (Marburg, 1875), pp.15-19, gives a list of manuscripts and quotations in Patristic authors and K. Th. Schafer, Die altlateinische Bibel (Bonn, 1957), makes a study and classification of the extant manuscripts, cf. the latest edition of the Vetus Latina (incomplete), P. Sabatier, Die Reste Der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron (Freiburg, 1949...). For examples of the types of error and variant readings which occurred compare Augustine's comments in chapters 17 - 22 and comm. 18.

16.8. Amen et Alleluia et Racha et Osanna: Loan words from Hebrew, via Greek. Amen occurs passim in the Bible, Alleluia four times in Apoc. 19, Racha as a term of abuse in Matt. 5.22 and Osanna in Matt. 21.9; 21.15; Marc. 11.9-10; Joan. 12-13 of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.

16.21. Qui enim ..... nullo modo: from Origen's Hexapla it is clear that there existed four Greek translations of the Old Testament. The Hexapla consists of six columns containing

(1) the Massoretic Hebrew text in Hebrew letters.

(2) the same text transliterated into Greek letters

(3) the Greek version of Aquila

(4) the Greek version of Symmachus

(5) the Septuagint as Origen knew it

(6) the Greek version of Theodotion.

The Septuagint is the earliest Greek version. It diverged from the Jewish tradition, both in regard to the books which were regarded as canonical and in the text of books commonly accepted (cf. comm. chapters 12-13; F.G. Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible (London, 1975) 3rd ed., pp.16-18). There are large variations in Job, Joshua, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, Proverbs, Esther and Jeremiah. This led in the second century to Aquila of Pontus producing a Greek version for the use of the Jewish community as distinct from the Septuagint of the Christians. It is an extremely literal translation of the Hebrew and survives today mainly in Origen's Hexapla. The next version was that of Theodotion of Ephesus, also a proselyte, though Jerome says he was an Ebionite Christian. His style is much less literal than Aquila and was used by Origen to fill in some of the lacunae in the Septuagint, notably Job where it amounts to almost a sixth of the whole. The third translation made at the end of the second century by Symmachus, said to be an Ebionite Christian by Jerome and Eusebius, is a very free rendering of the Hebrew and quite the opposite of Aquila.

There are three other versions with which Origen was acquainted, known as Quinta, Sexta and Septima. These were all used by him in the Hexapla for the Psalms, the Quinta and Sexta for Job, Canticles and the Minor Prophets and the Quinta also for 2 Kings.

Augustine was aware of the existence of five of these versions, Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and Quinta. (Civ. Dei. 18.43)

For the Latin versions see note on 16.2.(c).

17.1. Quae quidem res plus adiuvit intellegentiam quam impedivit: Augustine digresses slightly in this chapter into the realm of enarratio to show how one can profit by variant readings which both make sense. It also

emphasises a point which will emerge clearly from the following chapters, that emendation must only be made where there is a mistake in sense, cf. 18.4; 21.21.

17.2. si modo legentes non sint neglegentes: the same play on neglegere as the negative of legere occurs in D.C. 4.7.22:

> Sunt enim, qui eas legunt et neglegunt, legunt ut teneant, neglegunt ne intellegant.

17.5. Et domesticos ..... attestatus est: the quotations are from Isa. 58.7. The prophet is talking about what the fast of the Lord means and the whole of the verse reads:

> Frange esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam: cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.

Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah gives the translation carnem tuam as the more literal rendering of the Hebrew and domesticos seminis tui as the Septuagint version. These translations, however, in the D.C. come from Old Latin versions, not Jerome. For Jerome's commentary on Isa. was composed between 408 and 410 and the Vulgate O.T. completed in 405/6 (see Kelly (1) pp.229 and 161 respectively), while the D.C.part one was written in 396/7 (cf. Introduction A on date and comm. 22.1 on Augustine and the Vulgate).

17.7. Namque alter ..... consanguinitatem: Augustine's thought in this passage is rather tortuous. Essentially, he takes carnem tuam in a literal sense as one's own body (corpus suum line 8) and domesticos seminis tui in a figurative sense as the body of Christ. The figurative sense meaning all Christians is then referred to the literal sense of one's own body and to Augustine this means that the passage ought to be interpreted literally, but in the sense of consanguinei, blood relatives, not merely corpus suum. In support of this he quotes Rom. 11.14, where St. Paul expresses his concern for the Jews, those of the same race as himself, in the phrase carnem meam.

With the support of the quotation from St. Paul, it would appear that Augustine could satisfactorily have arrived at the same conclusion without the help of the Septuagint domesticos seminis tui. It is rather a strain to interpret the two readings as necessary for a clear understanding of the passage and involves only considering a literal rendering of carnem tuam and a figurative interpretation of domesticos seminis tui.

A comparison with Jerome on the same passage is interesting. In this commentary he quotes the Septuagint only where it differs significantly from the Hebrew. On 58.7 he quotes both and has no difficulty in interpreting them in the same way, viz. that the phrase refers to all men - an interpretation which Augustine does not even consider. In the case of carnem tuam he says simply:

Omnis enim homo caro nostra est

and quotes the parable of the Good Samaritan and its interpretation of who is one's neighbour as the scriptural support. For domesticos seminis tui as referring especially to Christians he quotes Gal. 6.10 where St. Paul says 'let us do good unto all men, especially the household of the faithful (domestici fidei)', but extends this similarly to include all men by the support of the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matt. 25.34-46.

17.19. nisi credideritis ..... non permanebitis: the reference is Isa. 7.9. Jerome's commentary states that the translation non intellegetis renders the LXX and non permanebitis renders Symmachus' version, cf. Origen, Hexapla:Isa. 7.9., where it reads for the LXX:

'Εὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε

and for Symmachus' version:

'Εὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐ διαμενεῖτε

As in the case of Isa. 57.9, Augustine's quotations are from Old Latin versions rather than the Vulgate.

17.21. Quis horum ..... incertum est: Augustine wishes to use both senses, 'be established' and 'understand' because of his

theology of intellectus (cf. comm. 17.25). He therefore makes no choice between the two readings. This is perhaps more reasonable than it at first appears as he is considering the usefulness of variant readings, rather than taking on the function of editor.

17.25. Ergo ..... parvulos: it is Augustine's theology and his view of intellectus as something concerned with the eternal vision, which allows the equation of intellegetis and permanebitis in this passage. The basis of this is his view of the relationship of faith and reason:

> ergo intellege ut credas, crede ut intellegas
>
> (Ep. 120.1.3.)

Gilson (op. cit., p.34) neatly summarises the meaning of these words by describing three stages in the relationship, 'preparation à la foi par la raison, acte de foi, intelligence du contenu de la foi'. Faith first of all depends on credibility and reason:

> Quis enim non videat, prius esse cogitare quam credere? Nullus quippe credit aliquid, nisi prius cogitaverit esse credendum.
>
> (De praedestinatione sanctorum 2.5)

But given faith understanding by the grace of God follows, intellectus merces est fidei (Tract in Joan. 29.6) Augustine uses the quotation from Isaiah, along with Joan. 17.3 to expound this view of faith and reason:

> Nisi enim aliud esset credere, et aliud intelligere, et primo credendum esset, quod magnum et divinum intelligere cuperemus, frustra Propheta dixisset nisi credideritis, non intelligetis. Ipse quoque Dominus noster et dictis et factis ad credendum primo hortatus est, quos ad salutem vocavit. Sed postea cum de ipso dono loqueretur, quod erat daturus credentibus, non ait: haec est autem vita

> aeterna ut credant; sed haec est, inquit, vita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum.
>
> (De Lib. Arbit. 2.17)

Ultimately this understanding will mean the full vision of God:

> Sed ea recta intentio est, quae proficiscitur a fide. Certa enim fides utcumque incohat cognitionem: cognitio vero certa non perficietur, nisi post hanc vitam, cum videbimus facie ad faciem. (1 Cor. 13.12)
>
> (De Trin. 9.[1])

That is why Augustine describes intellectus as within the realm of the eternal vision, while faith is nurtured in the cradle of things temporal.

17.27. nunc autem per fidem ambulamus, non per speciem: cf. 2 Cor. 5.7:

> Per fidem ambulamus, et non per speciem.

This quotation is used with others from St. Paul in 11.13-18.

17.28. nisi autem ..... veritati: the use of fides, species and purgare also appears in chapter 11 in the last two steps to wisdom. There is no actual mention of the intellect in that passage: it is the eye of the heart which is purged and will ultimately see God. However, apart from the obvious correlation with intellectus in Isa. 11.2, two points show that Augustine is not dismissing the intellect in that passage and providing a different interpretation of the eternal vision in this chapter. Firstly it is sapientia, which is the ultimate step and while this means some kind of mystic vision, the word itself has connotations of knowledge and understanding. Secondly this view of sapientia is borne out in Augustine's theology. As the quotation from De Trin. 9.[1], cited above, showed, ultimately perfect understanding means seeing God face to face. As Gilson says (op. cit., p.36), 'la doctrine

augustinienne des rapports entre la foi et la raison refuse de séparer l'illumination de la pensée de la purification du coeur'. The emphasis in this passage is on intellectus because of the need to interpret non intellegetis. But for that per oculum cordis purgatum could have been substituted for per intellectum purgatum. Augustine's explanation of the relationship of fides, species and intellectus influenced the thought of the Middle Ages, cf. Gilson (op. cit., p.39) who compares Iohannes Scotus Erigena.

> Lux in tenebris fidelium animarum lucet, et magis ac magis lucet, a fide incohans, ad speciem tendens.
>
> (In Prolog. Evang. sec. Joan.)

and Anselm:

> ... inter fidem et speciem intellectum quem in hac vita capimus esse medium intelligo ....
>
> (De Fide Trin. Praef.)

17.30. Propterea ..... intellegetis: By the end of the chapter Augustine has made no choice between the readings. He is content to say that both contribute. When he quotes this passage of Scripture in other works, he uses the form intellegetis (De Trin. 9.[1]; Ep. 120.1.3) as it suits his theology better than the form permanebitis which became established in Jerome's Vulgate and is closer to the Hebrew. In so doing he is taking the verse quite out of context in order to prove a theological point from Scripture and freely allegorising the Old Testament in the light of the revelation of Jesus Christ. The preceding verses in Isa. are talking about Syria and Ephraim rising up against Judah. The prophet foretells that in thirty-five years Ephraim will be destroyed, but then comments:

> nisi credideritis non permanebitis/intellegetis.

Jerome in his commentary on the verse takes this quite straightforwardly

as meaning unless they have faith in God on this point they will be punished and led into captivity and he sees no difficulty with this interpretation from either permanebitis or intellegetis, though obviously from the Vulgate he preferred permanebitis, which is the more straightforward and in Isa. interprets intellegetis in the light of permanebitis. On permanebitis he comments:

> et vos non permanebitis in regno vestro, sed in captivitatem ducemini, sustinentes eorum poenas, quorum imitati estis infidelitatem.

and on intellegetis:

> quia quae Dominus dicit futura, non creditis, intellegentiam non habetis.

Jerome and Allegory

From the comparison of Augustine and Jerome on these two passages it may seem that Augustine favours the figurative interpretation, Jerome the more literal. This is not the case in general. Jerome was as fond of allegorising the Old Testament as Augustine or any of the Fathers and much influenced by Origen, cf. Kelly (1), pp.144-152, esp. p.151. For Augustine and allegory, see comm. 7.19-20.

Chapter 18

Augustine quotes two examples of variant readings in the Old Latin versions where there are mistakes in sense which can easily be rectified by looking at the Greek original. Augustine clearly explains how the two mistakes he quotes arose. There are numerous examples of the same type of thing occurring in the manuscripts of the Old Latin Bible

extant, caused by the lack of knowledge of Greek by the translators and a desire to be as literal as possible in rendering word for word the sacred book. Palmer, op. cit., p.185 quotes some striking examples of the kind of errors which occurred, e.g.

τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ

(Isa. 58.8)

is rendered in the Epistle of Barnabas in Latin, chapter 3, as:

vestimenta tua cito orientur

ἰάματά 'healing' has been taken for ἱμάτια 'clothes'. In the same passage, quoting Isa. 58.9, the author translates χειροτονία as suadela malorum, mistakenly connecting the Greek word χειροτονία, 'stretching out a hand', with χείρων 'worse'. This latter example is exactly the same type of confusion as arises between μόσχοι and μοσχεύματα in Augustine's example, lines 11-20. For further examples see Mohrmann op. cit., vol.3 pp.67-126.

18.4. Acuti ..... sanguinem: the quotation is from Rom. 3.15. cf. Prov. 1.16; Psa. 13.3; Isa. 59.7.

18.16. Adulterinae ..... altas: the Biblical reference is Sap. 4.3.

19.5. Aut linguarum ..... maluerunt: Augustine is referring to Latin translations of the Greek and Greek translations of the Hebrew. He cannot be referring to Latin translations of the Hebrew, as Jerome's Vulgate, the only such translation, was not fully available in 397 when Augustine was writing book 2. The description, qui se verbis nimis obstrinxerunt, and the advocation of more literal translations best fits Aquila, Theodotion and the Septuagint as against the very free rendering of Symmachus, for the Greek biblical translators. The Latin translations are a mystery or rather they are some of the Old Latin versions which it

is not possible to name.

19.10. Nam ..... transferuntur: D. de Bruyne, 'L'Itala de Saint Augustin' R Ben 30 (1913), 308f. cites this passage as evidence for a revision of the work by Augustine[1]:

> On dirait qu'il a été question plus haut de verba singula ou du moins que cette division en verba et locutiones a été annoncée. Ce qui est plus grave, c'est que cette phrase et tout ce qui suit jusqu'à la fin du 20, se rattachent très mal à la pensée précedente, ils ne la prouvent (nam) ni ne l'expliquent en aucune façon.

He is condemned by his own first sentence. The whole point of this passage in the D.C. is the transference from verba singula to locutiones: in chapters 16 - 18 the discussion has centred around the meaning of single words, Amen, Alleluia, Racha, Osanna, domesticos seminis tui, carnem tuam, intellegetis, permanebitis. Domesticos seminis tui and carnem tuam, although technically more than one word, come under the category verba singula as it is their morphology which Augustine discusses, not their syntax. Locutiones on the other hand involves a discussion of the syntax of phrases and sentences like inter homines and inter hominibus (1.19). The function of nam is to explain the connection of verba singula and locutiones in the translations referred to. There is no need to suppose that 16-19.10 (maluerunt) are a later revision, which refers to the Vulgate, and to reconstruct the first edition by transposing the beginning of chapter 21:

> De ambiguis autem signis post loquemur, nunc de incognitis agimus.

to follow on from chapter 15 and be followed by nam non solum and the rest of chapter 19 and 20, cf. comm. 21.1.

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[1] On the question of the D.C. being written in two parts and the possible existence of a first edition, see Introduction A. In the article cited above de Bruyne believes that the "revision" is a revision of a first edition of D.C. part 1 (bks. 1-3.35). However he retracts this view in his note "Encore L'Itala de Saint Augustin' (RHE 23 (1927), 779-785) where he declares his belief in a revision, but merely of part 1 unpublished. He does not retract his ideas on the nature of such a revision, but admits that they are conjecture and must disappear if something better is suggested.

19.11. quae omnino ..... integritas: on Augustine's attitude to language cf. Introduction 3; comm. 21.15.

19.16. Nam soloecismus ..... locuti sunt: it is Augustine's tolerance of barbarisms and soloecisms which differs from the classical attitude of Quintilian or the Grammarians, not his definition of the terms. The basic distinction between solecisms and barbarisms is that barbarisms are faults according to the rules of grammar in single words, solecisms are faults in the collocation of two or more words:

> interim vitium, quod fit in singulis verbis,
> sit barbarismus.
>
> (Quint. 1.5.6)
>
> cetera vitia omnia ex pluribus vocibus sunt,
> quorum est soloecismus.
>
> (Ibid. 1.5.34)

cf. Priscian, 18.6.12-19.

This definition corresponds roughly to the modern distinction of phonology and syntax, as can be seen from Augustine's examples. Whether inter takes the accusative or the dative or ablative is a problem of syntax, the pronunciation of ignoscere one of phonology.

20.1. Sed tamen ..... iugo:

(a) eo magis ... quo; eo ... quo Augustine uses parallelism and antithesis in these two clauses to make his point that the weaker men are, the more concerned they are to show knowledge of temporal things like the 'correct use of language'. These are typical of the rhetorical devices used in the Bible and in Augustine's post-baptismal works cf. Introduction 3.D.

(b) scientia

There is a play on the two senses of scientia in this passage.

The first, scientia rerum, means the knowledge of the res behind the signa of Scripture, which Augustine has already mentioned as the third of the steps to wisdom (10.1-2). The second is the pejorative sense, meaning a concern only for knowledge of signa and not for the res which they signify. The latter is the sense in which St. Paul uses scientia in 1 Cor. 8.1:

> Scientia inflat, caritas aedificat.

From the use of inflare, aedificare and scientia it is clear that Augustine has in mind this quotation from St. Paul.

(c) aedificamur

The spiritual meaning of aedificare is a Christian semantic neologism taken over from the Greek οἰκοδομέω through the Latin translations of Scripture, cf. Mohrmann, op. cit., vol.1 p.119.

(d) cum et ipsa rerum scientia saepe cervicem erigat, nisi dominico reprimatur iugo: Augustine is likely to have had Matt. 11.28f. in mind when he wrote this sentence:

> Tollite iugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde: et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve.

20.7. Quae est ..... in ipsis: the Biblical reference is Num. 13.20. The idiom is Hebraic in the addition of super eam to in qua and in ipsis to in quibus: cf. J. Schildenberger, 'Die Itala des hl. Augustinus', Colligere Fragmenta, Festschr. Alban Dold Geburstag (Beuron, 1952), pp.87f. He also claims that nequam indicates that this is an African translation in comparison with the European mala of Codex Lugdunensis. The construction has come into Latin via the Septuagint:

> Καὶ τίς ἡ γῆ εἰς ἣν οὗτοι ἐγκάθηνται ἐπ' αὐτῆς. ἣ καλή ἐστιν ἣ πονηρά· καὶ τίνες αἱ πόλεις ἃς οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰ ἐν τειχήρεσιν ἢ ἐν ἀτειχίστοις.

cf. Vulgate version:

Ipsa terra, bona an mala; urbes quales, muratae an absque muris.

20.9. Quam locutionem ..... altiorem: from the examples in chapter 18 where Augustine quotes the Greek when it provides an explanation for the errors, it seems likely that he is aware of the Hebrew reference in alienae linguae. A shadow of doubt is cast on this by Augustine's lack of knowledge of Hebrew. Repeatedly in the Locut. in Hept. Augustine traces back a Hebrew construction to the Septuagint, but cannot get to the root of the problem in the Hebrew; cf. E. Löfstedt op. cit., p.91.

20.12. super ipsum ..... cantantium: the Biblical reference is Psa. 131.8. Augustine's attitude to floriet, like that of the preceding examples in chapters 19 and 20, is one of great tolerance to anything which does not disrupt the sense of Scripture.

20.18. Quod stultum est dei ..... homines: the reference is 1 Cor. 1.25. In his discussion of this passage Augustine strays into the realm of ambiguity (line 26), which is the province of book 3. cf. comm. 21.1. However it is not entirely outside the ignota signa of book 2, as it is ignorance of Greek which leads to the ambiguity. In addition ambiguity in book 3 means a discussion of how to tell whether a sign is ambiguous or not, rather than how to interpret it.

This example of the Greek genitive of comparison transferred into Latin shows where Augustine's tolerance of the invasion of foreign syntax ends. If it involves confusion in sense, it ought to be removed. It is for a mistake such as this in syntax, or as in the examples in chapter 18, in morphology that a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is really necessary.

Chapter 21

In the debate over the meaning of the expression Itala, which occurs in 22.1, various scholars have suggested that there are incoherences in the argument and train of thought of chapters 16 - 22. F.C. Burkitt, The Old Latin and the Itala (Cambridge, 1896), p.63, n.1 mentions the possibility only in passing. J. Schildenberger, op. cit., pp.84-102 takes the possibility much more seriously and believes that Augustine revised the text in 396/7 as soon as he had written it. De Bruyne, op. cit., 294-314 analyses the text very fully and concludes that a revision was made in 426/7, when Augustine completed book 3 and wrote book 4 of the D.C.[1] Burkitt and de Bruyne use the theory to support their proposition that Augustine is referring to the Vulgate by the word Itala. (see comm. 22.1) In view of the important part which the question of the position and function of chapter 21 plays in the debate over Itala, it is necessary to show that the position which it has in our manuscripts is defensible, as giving the most coherent structure of the whole passage 16-22.

The essential problem is the opening of chapter 21:

> De ambiguis autem signis post loquemur; nunc de incognitis agimus, quorum duae formae sunt, quantum ad verba pertinet.

It looks as though Augustine is pronouncing this division of ambigua and ignota signa, and his intention to deal with ambiguity later in book 3, for the first time. But he has already made clear in chapter 15 all the divisions of signa and the order in which he will deal with them. It is true that most of chapter 21 is a recapitulation and conclusion on what he has said in the preceding chapters (14 - 20), cf. commentary on 21. This in itself, however, is a rather weak

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[1] cf. Introduction A on date of D.C. and its composition in two parts; comm. 19.10 on de Bruyne.

explanation of his reasons for pronouncing so baldly once more the division of ambigua and ignota, especially as in chapters 16 - 22 he is treating the subject matter of ignota signa propria.

The solution lies in the discussion in chapter 20 of 1 Cor. 1.25 and the words:

> verum et in ambiguitatem cadit
>
> (lines 24f.)

Augustine has strayed from ignota signa to ambigua signa in his discussion (cf. comm. 20.18). Thus, immediately afterwards at the beginning of chapter 21, he pulls himself up short, and says, 'but I shall discuss ambiguity later, now I am talking about unknown signs'. This means that chapter 20 must precede the beginning of 21, as our manuscripts have it. The remainder of chapter 21 now deals as one would expect with a look back at the essential points made about ignota signa propria.

De Bruyne (op. cit. 309) in his desire to find traces of a revision of these chapters in 426/7, when Augustine completed book 3 and wrote book 4, seizes upon this difficulty in the opening of 21 and uses it to propose a drastic reshuffle of the text which will fit his theory that Itala in chapter 22 refers to the Vulgate. He comments on the opening of chapter 21:

> Voilà, si je ne me trompe, une entrée en matière; sa place naturelle est après §15, où est annoncée la division des signa incognita et ambigua. Quand l'auteur a interpolé les §16-19a, il a du chercher une autre place pour son texte primitif.

His grounds for regarding chapters 16 - 19a as a later revision have already been shown to be false and unnecessary. (see comm. 19.10). His suggestion that the opening of chapter 21 should be placed immediately

after 15 and before 19b (nam solum in 19.10) is just as untenable. For if Augustine has announced the division of signa ambigua and ignota in chapter 15, it is surely much less likely that he would want to repeat himself at the opening of the very next chapter. This is to put the sentence in an even weaker position than repetition six chapters later. De Bruyne's argument will not stand on its own merits, far less against the obvious connection between the end of chapter 20 and the beginning of 21 on the subject of ambiguity.

There are two relevant pieces of external evidence which ought also to be considered. Firstly there is the fourth or fifth century manuscript L. This contains only the prologue and books 1 and 2 of the D.C. and is probably a first edition issued before the completion of book 3 and writing of book 4 (cf. Introduction A (iv)). Thus on de Bruyne's theory, it ought not to contain chapters 16 - 19a or the opening of chapter 21 in its present position. Unfortunately a section of L is missing at this point. The manuscript stops at 13.35 and resumes again at 27.16. But a comparison of the length of the space in the manuscript with the missing portion of the text shows that chapters 16 - 19a must have been included.

1. Missing portion of L.

13.35 duabus ..... 26.16 (inve)nimus.

(a) Number of pages missing.

According to the CC edition, preface p.xx and apparatus criticus 13.35, two quaternions are missing, while the CSEL edition p.XIII, considers only one quaternion to have been lost. However it is apparent from the calculations below that 16 pages

are missing, whether one cares to describe this as one quaternion or two:

As a quaternion consists of 4 pages folded in half possible choices for the number of written sides are:

	1 quaternion	2 quaternions
Written on both sides[1]	16	32
Written on one side	8	16

From the calculations below (c) and 2, it is apparent that there must be 16 written sides missing, whether this is described as 1 quaternion or two. For 8 written sides would give a total number of letters for (c) of 7,560 (8 x 56 x $17\frac{1}{2}$) and 32 written sides a total of 30,140 (32 x 56 x $17\frac{1}{2}$). When compared with the totals of 2 of 16,161 (number of letters missing compared with other manuscripts) and 11,982 (number of letters missing if L is, as de Bruyne believes, a shorter version) this would mean that:

either:

> the original text of L contained vastly <u>less</u> even than de Bruyne believes (7,560 compared with 16,161 and 11,982).

or:

> the original text of L contained vastly <u>more</u> than our extant manuscripts (30,140 compared with 16,161)

Therefore 16 sides, with the reasonable total of 15,680 letters, must be missing.

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[1] None of the available descriptions of the manuscripts state whether L is written on only one side or on both sides. As Martin and Green, editors of <u>CC</u> and <u>CSEL</u> texts, were working from microfilm, this may have been how the confusion between 1 and 2 quaternions arose.

(b) Number of lines per page.

From the description of the manuscript in E.A. Lowe, Codices Latini Antiquiores (Oxford, 1966) 11, 1613, there are two columns on each page with 28 lines in each.

(c) Average number of letters per line.

From the published fascimiles of the manuscript in Lowe, op. cit., 11, 1613 and Dom A. Staerk, Les Manuscrits Latins du V^{ième} au XIII^{ième} Siècle Conservés à la Bibliothèque Imperiale de Saint Petersbourg (St. Petersburg, 1910), vol.1 plate I; vol.2 plate II and A.L. Chatelain, Uncialis Scriptura (Paris, 1901), p.5f., the average number of letters per line is $17\frac{1}{2}$.

∴ total number of letters missing in L = 16 x 56 x $17\frac{1}{2}$

= 15,680

2. Text of missing portion.

The CC text has been used.

Average number of type spaces per line = $58\frac{1}{2}$

no. of lines = 320 + 124 spaces

∴ total no. of type spaces = ($58\frac{1}{2}$ x 320) + 124

= 18,844

Allowance for word space and punctuation = 2,683

∴ Total no. of letters = 16,161

Chapters 16 - 19a

no. of lines = 84 + 34 spaces

∴ total no. of type spaces = ($58\frac{1}{2}$ x 84) + 34

= 4,948

Allowance for word space and punctuation = 769

∴ Total no. of letters = 4,179

de Bruyne's version of first edition

Total no. of letters = 16,161 - 4,179

= 11,982

The above figures are obviously an approximation and not an absolutely accurate account, as they are based on an average of the number of letters per line in the published fascimiles of L, and of the number of typed spaces in the printed text. But in view of the closeness of the two totals for L and the CC text, 15,680 and 16,161 respectively, compared with de Bryne's version of 11,982, the manuscript L, and therefore the first edition, surely must have contained the full text including chapters 16 - 19a.

The other piece of external evidence relevant to de Bruyne's theory is Augustine's Retractationes. In 426 Augustine broke off his work on the Retractationes to complete the D.C. (Retract. 2.30). In this work he makes two corrections of passages in the D.C., both in book 2 (13 and 43; Retract. 2.30). There is no mention, however, of a change of mind with regard to the Vulgate and the contents of chapters 16 - 22 or of a planned revision of that section of the book. I cannot agree with de Bruyne's dismissal of this point on the grounds that Augustine may have revised these chapters after the Retract. were published (op. cit., p.312). Along with the internal and manuscript evidence, it must be taken as indicating the improbability of a second revision.

21.1. De ambiguis ..... pertinet: cf. comm. 15.1.

21.3. Namque ..... locutio: ignota verba are discussed in chapters 16 - 18; ignotae locutiones in chapters 19 - 20.

21.5. Quae si ..... conlatio est: cf. 16.1-6 and 19.5-10.

21.9. Nulla sane ..... ignoramus: on the use of memory cf. 14.2-5; 16-17.

21.15. Quamquam ..... reperiuntur: even in the fourth century when

Christian Latin was well established there was a continual tension between pagan and Christian Latin. For education meant being brought up on the classics, Cicero, Vergil etc. and taking as the supreme standard classical Latin, which was very different from the Christian language with its prominent Vulgar and Greek elements in vocabulary and syntax. That is why Augustine mentions consuetudo veterum in 19.12 and in the following passage he is concerned to defend the Christian language and in these lines to point out the profound effect it could have on those brought up on Scripture, cf. Palmer, op. cit., p.188f. In book 4 Augustine fully develops the notion of taking the Bible as the touchstone for language and rhetoric, instead of the classical authors, cf. Introduction 1.B.

21.21. Tantum absit falsitas: these words sum up Augustine's attitude throughout the section 16-22; emendation must only take place where a mistake in sense has occurred. cf. comm. 17.1 and 18.

21.22. nam ..... venientes: concluding his view of the theory of textual emendation to be adopted for the Bible, Augustine comes down to earth, as it were, and advises his readers, who he realises are not all going to consult the numerous manuscripts around at the time, to work from the suitably emended texts so that more texts containing erroneous variants are not generated. In chapter 22 he will become even more basic in his advice on which texts to use.

22.1. In ipsis ..... sententiae: the name Itala for the Biblical translation which Augustine singles out as the preferred version in this sentence has generated much confusion and scholarly debate. The clearest summary and fullest bibliography of the scholarship devoted to the problem is given in the article of J. Schildenberger cited above, p.117.

The problem has arisen because no-one has yet found the said Itala either in an extant manuscript or in Augustine's own works (he is notably inconsistent in his use of Latin versions cf. Marrou (1), pp.441ff.). Taking this into account scholars have adopted three postures:

(i) Some are content to leave the actuality a mystery and take it to mean one of the Old Latin translations. (For refs. see B. Botte, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.4 (Paris, 1949), pp.777ff. and Schildenberger, op. cit., p.85 n.8-14.)

(ii) Others attempt to make Itala refer to an extant text. One school of thought, including Botte, loc. cit., believes that for the Old Testament it means Jerome's revision of the Hexapla and for the New Testament his Vulgate. Another following Burkitt, loc. cit., believes that the reference is to the Vulgate for both the Old and New Testaments.

(iii) Still others attempt to emend the text, in effect to Aquila though there are various ways in which Aquila is incorporated: Marrou (1), p.440 n.3 supports the simple emendation from Itala to Aquila, on the grounds that the Itala does not exist and Augustine's description:

> nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae

fits Aquila's literal translation.

H. Quentin, 'La Prétendue Itala de Saint Augustin', Révue Biblique 36 (1927) 216-225, proposes a lacuna in the text at the end of which Augustine comes to talk of Aquila's version, which in Civ. Dei 15.23 he mentions as preferred by the Jews. Quentin takes the lacuna as beginning with the word ita and conjectures the last few words of it:

> ita [..... unde fit ut a Iudaeis Aqui] la ceteris praeferatur.

There are immense problems in interpretations (ii) and (iii).

(ii) The probability that Jerome did not complete his revision of the Hexapla, but only emended the Psalms, Job, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs (cf. Kelly (1) pp.158f.) casts doubt on this idea. The problems with the Vulgate are threefold:

(a) the question of whether or not Jerome translated the rest of the New Testament after the Gospels.

(b) the date of composition of the Vulgate in relation to the date of the D.C.

(c) Augustine's attitude to the Vulgate.

(a) It now seems unlikely that Jerome did complete his translation of the New Testament, which makes the reference to the Vulgate by Augustine impossible. (cf. Kelly (1), pp.88f.)

(b) Jerome did not complete the Vulgate of the Old Testament until 405/6.cf.Kelly (1) p.161. Book 2 of the D.C. was written in 396/397, so unless one presumes a second revision in 426, with all the difficulties that involves (see comm. 21), it is impossible for the reference here to be to the Vulgate Old Testament.

(c) From the epistles of 394-403, Augustine does not approve at all of Jerome's undertaking a translation of the Hebrew Old Testament. He repeatedly gives reasons why he believes this should not be undertaken and pleads with Jerome to continue his revision of the Hexapla. (cf. esp. Epp. 28; 71; 81; 82). The first citations of the Vulgate O.T. are in the Locutiones in Heptateuchum written c.415. For a discussion of how Augustine became reconciled to the place of a translation from the Hebrew as well as the Septuagint, see comm. 22.4. Clearly

this attitude of Augustine's to the Vulgate O.T. adds another difficulty of date to taking Itala as the Vulgate: the date of Augustine's change of heart is incompatible with book 2 being written in 396/7.

(iii) Emendation seems wrong as it involves tampering with the text where all the manuscripts, except two correctors' hands in K, agree, and where good sense can be made of the existing text, in order to produce a reading which does not make good sense. Aquila means a Greek version and in the next sentence Augustine gives full authority to the Septuagint among the Greek translations. While it may be argued that, when Augustine says he prefers Aquila, he means, as far as a literal translation is concerned, this seems much too complicated and tortuous. He obviously states what he considers to be the best Latin version around, the Itala, and then the best Greek version. Quentin's lacuna involves the same problem and has nothing to commend it.

The sense of Itala adopted by group (i) is obviously correct: it refers to an Old Latin translation. Following on from the end of chapter 21 where he advises the use of emended texts, Augustine now comes clean on what he thinks are the best versions around, the texts he would recommend, viz. the Itala and the Septuagint. Throughout the discussion of Latin texts has been of the Old Latin versions and he now states which of these is the best. The adjective Italus, -a, -um is used by Vergil to mean Italian (Aen. 1.252) and it is reasonable to assume that Augustine refers to an Italian translation as opposed to an African one. It would be much tidier if we could identify this translation and it is easy to see the temptation to attempt to identify Itala with an extant known translation. But in this case we must admit ignorance, allowing research only to narrow down the field of ignorance, and not give into

an emotional need to tidy up all loose ends.

22.3. Et latinis ..... auctoritas: the statement that the LXX is of supreme authority is typical of Augustine's attitude in 397 when writing the first parts of the D.C., cf. comm. 22.1(c). In his correspondence with Jerome between 394 and 403 about his translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, he begs Jerome not to undertake this task, claiming that it could open up a split between Eastern and Western Christendom as Greek speaking countries would continue to use the LXX and describing the tumult at Oea, when the new translation of Jerome was adopted for Jon. 4.6. (Ep. 71, cf. Ep. 28; 81; 82). The real difficulty which Augustine faced was the discrepancy between the Hebrew and Greek texts. He could not accept that the inspired LXX was a bad translation of some parts of the Hebrew, which was the view accepted by Jerome in his search for Hebrew verity:

> ... conatus sum ..... ea testimonia quae a Iudaeis praetermissa sunt vel corrupta proferre in medium, ut scirent nostri quid hebraea veritas contineret.
>
> (Ep. 75.20)

From Augustine's reply to this in Ep. 82.34, as de Bruyne, op. cit. 305 points out, it looks as though he was formulating a theory which viewed the contemporary Hebrew translations as corrupt and the LXX as preserver of the correct text. But this theory never became established in Augustine's mind, and his eventual solution, and at least partial reconciliation to the Hebrew Old Testament was less radical, if more ingenious. For in 425 in the Civ. Dei. 18.43 he praises Jerome's undertaking of a new translation from the Hebrew, though not as superior to the LXX. The two translations are put in different categories, the LXX is inspired, a prophetic interpretation of the preceding Hebrew prophecies, and therefore to be preferred to the Hebrew text where any

discrepancies occur: but the Hebrew text is not to be abandoned, rather put to philological use. It is necessary to inspect both texts to find out what has been omitted or added in the LXX and to discover where two different modes of expression are used for the same meaning. In this context Augustine is able to use the Hebrew text in translation and claim that both it and the LXX are authoritative, even in places where the text differs. For instance, in the following chapters of Civ. Dei. 18.44 he quotes Jon. 3.4 where the Hebrew says that Nineveh will be overthrown in forty days, the LXX three. He thinks that the Hebrew version is more likely to have been the words of Jonah, but advises the reader to rise above the historical question and consider the significance of the numbers. Both can be taken as referring to Christ, forty as the days between resurrection and ascension, three as between the crucifixion and resurrection. Thus neither reading is to be despised.

On Augustine's attitude to the Vulgate O.T. cf. de Bruyne, op. cit. 301-307. On the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome cf. Kelly (1), pp.263-272, with bibliography. On the number of translators, see below 22.5(a).

22.5. qui iam ..... decet: The Origins of the Septuagint.

The Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates is the text from which Augustine's version of the story originates. It tells of the commission of the Egyptian King to the royal librarian, Demetrius of Phalerum, to collect all the books in the world. Demetrius wishes to obtain a copy and translation of the Jewish Law and a request is made to the High Priest of the Jews, Eleazar at Jerusalem. The translators are taken to an island where the translation is made and agreed by mutual comparison in seventy-two days.

In the following centuries embellishments are made on this story by

various writers. Philo, De Vita Mosis 2.25-44, names the island as Pharos and adds that the translators wrote as though inspired, each producing the same translation:

> .... περὶ ὧν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντήσειν - κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἡ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχή - καθάπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα και ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος.

(a) qui

The reference is to the Septuaginta interpretes of the previous line. The number of translators is variously described as seventy or seventy-two, though the general reference quickly becomes Septuaginta. In Civ. Dei. 18.42, where Augustine tells the story of the Septuagint's origins in more detail than here, he says that there were seventy-two translators, six from each of the twelve tribes of Israel, though their translation is now customarily referred to as that of the Seventy.

The number seventy-two obviously originated from the reference to the seventy-two days taken to complete the translation in the Letter of Aristeas. It is not easy to see an immediate reason for the change between seventy and seventy-two. Jellicoe (op. cit. p.45), by reference to the account of Epiphanius of Salamis in his De Mensuris et Ponderibus 3f., who says that there were seventy-two translators working in pairs, connects the two numbers with Luc. 10.1-17, the sending out of the Seventy in pairs. Some manuscripts read seventy-two in this passage of the Gospel and Jellicoe believes that Luke was influenced by the Letter of Aristeas. It is possible that the fluctuation between seventy and seventy-two in the manuscripts of Luke and in the Fathers' accounts of the number

of translators of the Septuagint influenced each other. However I do not think that any definite conclusions can be drawn from this, and it seems equally likely that Septuaginta became established as it was more convenient than writing or saying septuaginta duo or duo et septuaginta.

Justin Martyr, Dial. 68; 1 Apol. 31, extends the translation from the Pentateuch to the whole of the LXX. Irenaeus is the first to tell of the isolation of the translators in separate cells, apud Euseb., E.H. 5.8.10ff. and Tertullian the first Christian writer to mention Aristeas by name, as well as giving the number of translators as seventy-two (Apol. 18).

On the Letter of Aristeas, see the edition by A. Pelletier, Sources Chrétiennes no.89 (Paris, 1962) and S. Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford, 1968), pp.29-58.

Augustine's version

(b) per omnes peritiores ecclesias

The LXX was the normal version in the Greek speaking churches of the East and the basis of Latin translations until Jerome's Vulgate. In his disagreement with Jerome about the Hebrew translation he points out the dangers of schism in introducing a new translation (Ep.71, cf. comm. 22.3). For Augustine's attitude to the authority of the greater churches see comm. 12.11.

(c) tanta praesentia ..... fuerit

The inspiration and unanimity of the translators originates from Philo's version, see above. Augustine emphasises the inspiration of the LXX again in Civ. Dei 18.42, where he tells the story in more detail than this passage. In that passage, like Tertullian, he gives the number of translators as seventy-two and remarks that they are usually referred to as 'the seventy', cf. D.C.2.22.4.

(d) ut fertur ..... praedicant: apart from Jerome, there was a general acceptance of the account related in Aristeas by the Church Fathers. To the references quoted above may be added those in C. Oikonomos, Περὶ τῶν ὁ Ἑρμηνευτῶν τῆς Παλαιᾶς Θείας Γραφῆς (Athens, 1845) 2, pp.268-285; P. Wendland, Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula (Leipzig, 1900), pp.87-166; A Pelletier, op. cit., pp.78-97.

(e) singuli cellis etiam singulis separati

This version goes back to Irenaeus (apud Eus., E.H. 5.8.10ff.) and recurs again in the anonymous Cohortatio ad Graecos, probably third century, whose author claims to have seen the remains of the cells in the island of Pharos where the translators worked.

(f) Quis huic ..... decet

These remarks are undoubtedly aimed at Jerome who did indeed dare to attempt to correct these learned men in his Vulgate translation. Augustine echoes the same argument of the one against the many in Civ. Dei. 18.43. His attitude to the Vulgate has already been discussed (comm. 22.3). As regards the story of the LXX's origins, Jerome unlike Augustine is unwilling to accept the embellishments of the story after Aristeas. He uses Aristeas and Josephus to repudiate the tale of the separate cells and unanimous agreement in translation:

> .... et nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarint, cum Aristeas eiusdem Ptolemaei ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus nihil tale rettulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant, non prophetasse.
>
> Praef. in Pent.

Augustine clearly knows the Aristean tradition of a collaboration among the translators, which Jerome follows and which Augustine

himself mentions, but it is not the one he himself follows as his other works show. Si autem (line 12) is answering a possible objection to his view of the LXX as inspired. It is not a direct reply to Jerome's Preface quoted above, as Jerome was writing in 401, Augustine in 397. The debate had however been going on since 395.

22.16. Quamobrem ..... proderentur: in Civ. Dei. 18.42, Augustine names Ptolemy as Ptolemy Philadelphus. This is Ptolemy 2 who reigned from 285 to 247 B.C., referred to by Aristeas. He is not named by Aristeas, but the references to his father Ptolemy 1 (Lagos) make it clear that he is meant. Apart from Justin Martyr's version in 1 Apol. 31 where he refers to a Ptolemy contemporary with Herod, the King of the Jews, Ptolemy Philadelphus is generally accepted in antiquity. Justin's account is inaccurate. For as Jellicoe, op. cit., points out, 'it would be difficult to reconcile a Ptolemy as contemporary with Herod who became King in 37 B.C. Cleopatra reigned virtually in her own right (though technically in conjunction successively with Ptolemy XIII and XIV) on her restoration by Julius Caesar in 47 B.C. after a campaign in the course of which, as though further to embarass Justin, the Alexandrian library of the Brucheum was devastated by fire.'

The actual date of the Letter of Aristeas is a problem which has been tackled by many scholars and suggestions range from 200 B.C. to 33 A.D. An account of its date and purpose is given in Jellicoe, op. cit., pp.47-58. It is regarded by modern scholars as an apologia for a standard translation of the Hebrew Law, with much literary embellishment. However in antiquity it enjoyed high esteem and its contemporary authority was not questioned even by Jerome.

22.24. Sed tamen ..... sententiam: the reference is to chapters 16 - 22, where the comparison of variant texts is discussed.

22.26. Latini ergo ..... reperiuntur: in keeping with his views on the Vulgate and Hebrew verity at this stage, Augustine concludes by reiterating that the Latin texts are to be emended by reference to the Greek, especially the LXX. The Hebrew text is not mentioned either in this conclusion or in the whole discussion in the section 16-22. The only reference to Hebrew in chapter 16 concerns Hebrew words transliterated into Latin or Greek.

Chapters 23 - 24: ignota signa translata

In these two chapters Augustine transfers to a discussion of unknown figurative signs. He states that there are two reasons why a reader may get stuck in interpreting them, lack of knowledge of the language or of the object which is meant. In chapter 23 he gives examples which require a knowledge of languages and in chapter 24 examples which require a knowledge of things.

23.3. Aliquid ..... lateret: the Biblical reference is Joan. 9.1-7, where Siloa is explained as meaning missus.

23.11. Quod nonnulli ..... sunt: Between 389 and 391 Jerome produced two such books, one an etymology of Biblical proper names, (Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum) and a book of places mentioned in Scripture (Liber De Situ Et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum). The former, as indicated in the preface, Jerome believed to be a restoration and improvement of a work by Origen, who had revised and added the New Testament names to an earlier work by Philo. This assumption is generally regarded as mistaken by modern scholars, though it is agreed

that the word lists date back at least to the third century. The latter is a Latin translation and revision of Eusebius Onomasticon, which mainly contains factual, geographical information not so useful for allegorical interpretation.

The fascination of word derivation is evident in the works of classical Greek and Latin authors. The earliest known studies are in the reproductions in Greek philosophers from lost works, and we know of a lost Περὶ ἐτυμολογίας by Heraclides of Ponticus and a similarly lost Ἐτυμολογικά of Chrysippus. The especial interest in proper names can be seen in the works of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and tragedy, e.g. Αἴας is derived by Pindar from αἰετός (Isth. 6.53) and by Sophocles from αἰαῖ (Aj. 430). From Plato onwards etymology became mixed up with the anomalist, analogist dispute about language. Among Roman writers, Varro was very keen on etymology and devoted books 2 - 7 of his De L.L. to how words originated and were applied to things and ideas.

Jerome's derivations, like many of the others, are mainly erroneous, but were used throughout the middle ages until the new interest in Hebrew scholarship overshadowed his work. On Jerome, see Kelly (1), pp.153-155.

23.14. et quid ..... Moyses: the derivations given by Jerome in Lib. Interpret. Hebr. Nom. are as follows:

Adam, lag.2.17 cf. 64.7; 73.14; 73.23; 78.17; 81.9

homo sive terrenus aut indigena vel terra rubra.

Eva, lag.5.16 cf. 75.19; 76.7; 78.20; 81.12.

calamitas aut vae vel vita.

Abraham, lag.3.3 cf. 60.8; 72.13; 73.23; 76.2; 76.14; 77.25; 81.9

pater videns populum.

Moyses, lag.14.1 cf. 65.8; 73.20; 74.20; 75.24; 78.9; 79.18

adtrectans vel palpans aut sumptus ex aqua sive adsumptio.

Hierusalem, lag.50.9 cf. 62.5; 74.17f.; 75.23

visio pacis

Sion, lag.39.25 cf. 43.12; 50.25; 75.2; 78.15; 81.17

specula vel speculator sive scopulus.

Hiericho, lag.62.9 cf. 78.6

odor eius sive luna

Sina, lag.23.13 cf. 76.22; 81.17

tentatio sive rubus, sit tamen per samech litteram scribatur.

Libanus is not cited as such by Jerome, though it occurs in 3 Reg. 4.33. However in the derivations of names in 3 Reg., under L occurs Leben, for which the editor of the CC edition cannot identify the Biblical reference (lag.42.18). It would seem, therefore, that this ought to read, or at least refer to Libanus. The derivation given is:

aedificatio vel candida.

Iordanis, lag.7.20 cf. 64.27

descensio eorum

24.1. Rerum ..... ponuntur: Augustine uses the division of animal, vegetable and mineral in Civ. Dei. 5.2 to describe the essentia of man:

.... essentiam ... cum lapidibus (mineral)

.... vitam seminalem ... cum arboribus (vegetable)

.... vitam sensualem ... pecoribus (animal)

A fourth quality is added in this passage, intellectual life, which is held in common with angels.

The categories are also used in D.C.1.2 as sub-divisions of the class res, where the examples quoted are lignum (vegetable), lapis (mineral) and pecus (animal).

24.4. Nam et ..... deum: the example taken from the category animal is the serpent. Augustine's text is Matt. 10.16:

Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae.

This is the only biblical passage where the serpent is a symbol of good rather than evil, apart from the references to the brazen serpent. In Num. 21.6-9 God commands Moses to make a serpent of brass and set it upon a standard that all who see it may be healed of their bites from the plague of serpents. The image is used by Jesus in Joan. 3.14, to foretell His crucifixion and the salvation of mankind. In general, however, Jewish and Christian literature follows the tradition found in Gen. 3, with the serpent as a symbol of evil, in contrast to the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman view of serpents as symbols of good especially noted for their healing power, cf. comm. 24.10. On the symbolism of the serpent see ERE Serpent-Worship; J.M.C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (London, 1973), pp.223-236.

The analogy between the serpent's defence of his head with his whole body when under attack and the need for the Christian, as part of the body of Christ, to be willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of the head, which is Christ is a common interpretation of Matthew's words in the Fathers. It occurs in Origen's commentary on Matt. 10.16 (frag. 202), Theodorus of Heracleon (frag. 66), Hilary and Jerome, as well as in Ambrose Enar. in Ps. 37.8. But it is not a characteristic for which it is noted in pagan writings.

24.10. Vel illud ..... portam: the two biblical passages which Augustine connects with the command to be wise as serpents are Eph. 4.22 and Matt. 7.13. The serpents habit of sloughing its skin gave it a high reputation in antiquity as a symbol of immortality and healing power. Eusebius, Praep. Evang. 1.10.45 tells of a history of the Phoenicians by Philo of Byblos in which the serpent is held in high honour for its ability to rejuvenate itself. In Greece and Rome it was especially connected with Asclepius, the god of healing, because of this quality, see Pausanias, Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις 11.10.3 with J.G. Frazer's

commentary (London, 1898), vol.3. pp.65ff. and references to the scholiast on Aristophanes, Plutus 733; Cornutus, Nat. Deor. 33; Macrobius, Sat. 1.20.2.

It was thus natural for the serpent to be used by the Fathers as a symbol of salvation in view of the pagan background of healing power and the biblical reference in Num. 21.6-9. Ambrose in commenting on this passage of Matthew amidst a discussion of salvation in Christ (Enar. in Ps. 37.8) notes the use of the ashes of a burnt serpent as a remedy for a snake bite cf. Pliny, H.N. 29.71-72, as well as its ability to slough its skin. Augustine, with the references to St. Paul, uses the serpent's ability to rejuvenate itself as an analogy for the new life to be found in Christ. Of the extant patristic commentaries on Matthew, he alone makes the connection with St. Paul's putting off the old man, and with Matthew's entering in at the strait gate.

In antiquity it is a noted characteristic of the python, as opposed to the ordinary anguis that it uses its body to kill by crushing animals. Pliny H.N. 8.32 mentions this as does Solinus, 25.14 cf. H.H. Scullard, The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World (London, 1974), pp.216f.

24.19. Nam et ..... fores: there are three examples from the category mineral, carbuncle, beryl and adamant. Stones have long been considered to have mystic properties. In the Graeco-Roman world may be mentioned the stone pillars of Cnossos in Crete and the omphalos at Delphi believed to be the centre of the earth (Pi., Pyth. 4.131). A cult of stones survived into the Christian era. Arnobius (c.300 A.D.) says of his pagan life that when he saw a sacred stone he adored it (Adv. Gentes. 1.39). Various gem stones were thought to have particular properties: amber for instance is described by Pliny (H.N. 37.30) as of medicinal use, both taken in liquid and worn as an amulet, for tonsilitis, fevers, weak sight, stomach upsets and madness. Gem stones were also inscribed

or drawn on and used as amulets, the belief being that the inscription gave efficacy to the stone. The best known of these are the so-called abraxas gems, of a gnostic sect, inveighed against by Jerome and Augustine.

The main extant treatises on gem stones in antiquity are Theophrastus, De Lapidibus and Pliny H.N. 37. Theophrastus' work is very short and possibly fragmentary. Pliny at the beginning of book 1 of the H.N. lists his sources for the book on gem stones, amongst which is Varro whom Augustine is likely to have consulted.

Augustine, understandably in view of his attitude to pagan superstition and folklore in the rest of book 2, is only interested in the properties of the gems and not the stories attached to them. In his view it is the place of the biblical scholar to allegorise in Christian terms from the scriptural passage in which the gem is quoted and from the properties of the stone.

On stones in general see ERE, stones, and charms and amulets and M. Eliade, tr. R. Sheed, Patterns in Comparative Religion (London, 1958), pp.216-238.

On amulets, see DS, amuletum.

On abraxas stones, see DS, abraxas; E. Riess, RE, abraxas.

Theophrastus - ed. D.E. Eichholz (Oxford, 1965), with translation, commentary + bibliography: ed. E.R. Caley and J.F.C. Richards (Ohio, 1956), with translation, commentary + bibliography

(a) carbunculus

Pliny, H.N. 37.91ff. discusses the carbuncle and says that it holds first place amongst red gemstones because of its fiery appearance, from whence its name is derived. He records the saying of Callistratus on the Carthaginian carbuncle, that when used as a signet it will melt the wax even in a very dark place. This corresponds with Augustine's description of it as a stone which glows

in the dark.

Jerome's commentary on Isa. 54.11 takes up the fiery quality of the stone and provides an example of the type of figurative interpretation recommended by Augustine. On the LXX reading, translated into Latin as:

> Ecce ego praeparo carbunculum lapidem tuum

where the Vulgate, from the Hebrew, translates:

> Ecce ego sternam per ordinem lapides tuos

Jerome comments:

> Carbunculus ..... videtur mihi ignitus sermo doctrinae, qui fugato errore tenebrarum illuminat corda credentium.

(b) beryllus

Pliny describes the nature of beryls as similar to that of emeralds and their colour as sea-green or greenish yellow, H.N. 37.75ff. He does not allot any special property to them. Neither they, nor carbuncles are mentioned by Theophrastus. The beryl is used in both the LXX and Vulgate as the stone which adorns the eighth foundation of the New Jerusalem. (Apoc. 21.20).

These twelve stones which compose the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem, Apoc. 21.19-20, correspond more or less to the stones which were set in gold on the High Priest's breastplace in Exod. 28.17-20 and 39.10-13. In the Apocalypse there is a major change in the order of the stones and in the names of the twelve apostles being written on the stones rather than the twelve tribes as in Exodus. R.H. Charles in his commentary on the Apocalypse (Edinburgh, 1920), pp.165-168 shows that the reason for the change of order is because of the connection of the precious stones with the signs of the zodiac. He quotes the view of Kircher in the seventeenth century that each of the twelve stones mentioned is specifically connected with one of the signs of the zodiac on Arabian

and Egyptian monuments. From Philo and Josephus it is clear that the relationship between the stones and the signs was known to the Jews and Pliny connects the number twelve with precious stones in H.N. 33. From the table which is given by Kircher and quoted by Charles, the beryl is associated with the Lion and the tribe of Benjamin.

(c) adamas

According to Pliny (H.N. 37.55ff.) adamant is the most highly valued of human possessions. It is prized for its hardness, for which it is used in the Bible, Ezech. 3.9 and Zach. 7.12. It is also commonly used both metaphorically and literally for hardness in classical Latin, s.v. TLL adamas. Pliny quotes it as an example of ἀντιπάθεια and συμπάθεια in nature, as its hardness defies the two most powerful substances in nature, iron and fire, but can be broken by being steeped in warm, fresh goat's blood, though even then it needs blows by a hammer or anvil and is liable to break all but the best of them. It is also said to render poisons powerless and dispel madness and groundless fears.

24.23. Nec aliam ..... perenniter: the first example from the category vegetable is the olive tree. It is used as a symbol of peace in Classical antiquity, as well as in Christian art and literature, e.g. Verg. Aen. 11.101. For further examples see TLL olea II.2. The Biblical passage referred to by Augustine is Gen. 8.11.

24.27. Multi autem ..... mundabor: the second example is hyssop, and the quotation is from Psa.50.9. The use of hyssop for cleansing the lungs is mentioned by Jerome in his commentary on the Psalm. Medical writers refer to its power as a cleanser and purgative, e.g. Cels. 1.3.22. For further examples see TLL, hys(s)opum, 2.a. Isidore, Etymol. 17.9.39

gives a similar description to Augustine's:

> hyssopum herba purgandis pulmonibus apta ... nascitur in petris haerens saxo radicibus.

Chapter 25: Numerology

Augustine is the most renowned of the Fathers for interpreting the numbers of Scripture allegorically. In his commentaries and doctrinal treatises he does not miss an opportunity for this type of exegesis. Numerology was commonly accepted in the Ancient world. Sacred or magical numbers are common in all cultures and from the literature of Greece and Rome it is clear that particular numbers were held in esteem. Three, for instance, is common in ritual: In Theocritus 2.43 charms are repeated three times, cf. A.S.F. Gow's Commentary on lines 17-63, (Cambridge, 1950), in Aristophanes' Ranae 1175-6 the dead are invoked thrice.

This is the general climate in which Augustine was writing about sacred numbers, but the more specific background for the type of interpretation which he uses in these chapters is in the Pythagorean theories. Pythagoras discovered the mathematical ratios involved in musical harmonic relationships. These could for Greek music all be expressed within the number ten and as ratios between the first four numbers. This became known as the divine tetraktys, as the first four numbers add up to ten, and they developed reverence in general for 'perfect' numbers like six, which is the sum of its divisors, exclusive of itself (6 = 1 + 2 + 3).

In addition the Greek system of notation of numbers helped to make them philosophically significant. For, unlike the Arabs and the system which we have inherited from them, the Greeks thought of numbers as pebbles laid out in particular patterns on the ground. Thus certain numbers appeared triangular by nature; ∴ , others square; this association of numbers with geometrical forms may have been a reason for the Pythagoreans asserting that things were number.

On this basis a certain mystical significance was attached to certain numbers. One, the monad, came to represent God and the distinction between even and odd numbers, good and bad, light and dark, or male and female (see Aristotle, Metaphysica, 986 a 22). The description in Photius' Bibliotheca 187 of the work of Nicomachus of Gerasa, ἀριθμητικῶν θεολογουμένων βιβλία β', provides a good example of the varied type of significance attached to each of the first ten numbers.

Number and musical harmony also appears in Platonic philosophy, especially in the Timaeus which describes a model of a musicalised universe. Thus by the time of Augustine numerology is accepted as part of an academic discipline. Varro had written a work, now lost, on numbers, De Principiis Numerorum, which is the most likely source for Augustine's derived ideas. He does not however indiscriminately follow the interpretation of those who have preceded him, but tends to interpret freely using the same basic principles. This is only natural as he is limiting his discussion to Biblical numbers and interpreting on the basis of Christian theology rather than Pythagorean or Platonic philosophy. The principle of factorisation is the main one which he takes over from the Pythagorean tradition. And Sap. 11.21:

Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti

provides ample biblical justification for numerology.

For an introduction to the classical background of Augustine's numerology, see the article by C. Butler in Silent Poetry ed. A. Fowler

(London,1970) pp.1-31 and the book Number Symbolism (London, 1970) by the same author.

25.2. Ingenium quippe ..... ieiunaverunt: in Exod. 24.12-18 Moses is called up on to the mountain by God and spends forty days and forty nights there. Elijah in 3Reg. 19.5-8 is given food by an angel of the Lord and instructed to make the journey from Beersheba to the mountain of God, Horeb, which takes forty days and forty nights, fasting all the time. In Matt. 4.2 Jesus withdraws into the wilderness for the same period.

25.5. Cuius actionis ..... mensibus: the factorisation of forty into four and ten is based on Pythagorean principles of numerology. Origen in his commentary on Matt. 4.2 (frag. 61) similarly represents forty as four and ten for purposes of interpretation. His interpretation of these two numbers, however, differs from Augustine's. Origen equates four times one and four times ten and relates the creation of the world from the four elements to the formation of a child in its mother's womb, which he states takes place after forty days.

On the number four, both the interpretations of Origen and Augustine can be paralleled in Platonic and Pythagorean thought. Theon of Smyrna in his Expositio Rerum Mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium, enumerates ten things which the tetraktys was considered to symbolise which includes both the four elements and the four seasons. Photius' account of Nichomachus on 'four' states that it was both nature itself and the key to nature, which is also appropriate to both the Fathers' interpretations.

There is no reference in Augustine to the now generally accepted opinion that forty is used in the Old Testament merely to signify a large indeterminate number.

25.16. Porro autem ..... elementa: the number ten is now divided into three and seven. Three as the Trinity is a commonplace in Patristic texts. Seven as signifying the creature is rather less obvious. It is subdivided into four and three. Four signifies the four elements, as in Origen and Theon of Smyrna (see comm. 25.5). Three as the parts of vita, as opposed to corpus is taken from Matt. 22.37 and the command to love God with all thy heart, soul and mind. But this can also be compared with Theon, who in the passage mentioned above on the number four, also describes it as representing the parts of a human being, the body and three parts of the soul.

25.24. hoc lex ..... claruit: the interpretation of forty in this passage is not the only significance which Augustine attaches to the number. Like the Pythagoreans he feels free to have the same number referring to various different ideas. In Tract. in Joh. 17.5-6, he again factorises forty into four times ten, but ten there is taken as the Law, signified by the ten commandments and four, either as the completion of the Law in the four Gospels or as the extension of the Law over the whole world because of the command in Matt. 24.31 to the angels to gather together the elect from the four winds at the second coming of Christ. The various interpretations of four, ten and three given in this chapter also illustrate Augustine's free and arbitrary interpretation of biblical numbers. For a detailed description of Augustine's numerical symbolism, see M. Comeau, St. Augustin Exégète du Quatrième Évangile (Paris, 1920), pp.127-142, N. Clausen, Aurelius Augustinus Sanctae Scripturae Interpretes (Copenhagen, 1827), pp.226-229 and A. Knappitsch, St. Augustins Zahlensymbolik (Grätz, 1905), pp.44-46. Origen, likewise does not have a rigid interpretation of forty, cf. the passage cited above 25.5.

25.28. Deinde ita ..... pentecosten: Augustine does not explain in this passage how fifty comes out of forty or its significance. But elsewhere he interprets the number in two ways. From forty as a mixture of four and ten and thus time and eternity, the addition of another ten comes to represent the heavenly perfection, the denarius paid as a final reward after the days of fasting, which is this life. (Ep. 55.28). But fifty is also a symbol of plenitude because it is made up of 7 x 7 + 1, which in turn revolves round the number eight as seven is the product of 7 x 1, which equal eight when added together, and fifty is 7 x 7 + 1. The significance of eight is that, following the tradition of Origen and Ambrose, Augustine regarded the Sabbath not only as the first day of the week, but also as the eighth representing not the transitory rest of the Sabbath but the eternal rest of the life to come. (Ep. 55.23; see also F. van der Meer, op.cit., pp.287-8 and 291.)

Commenting on Psa. 150 (Enarr. in Ps. 150.1), he gives further interpretation of these ways of factorising fifty. Seven times seven plus one is a week of weeks plus unity (the Pythagorean monad) and when related to Pentecost seven is a symbol of the Holy Spirit because of the seven gifts of the Spirit in Isa. 11.2.

Or again when taken as forty plus a fifth ten, this last ten signifies the period between Christ's Ascension, forty days after Easter, and the coming of the Holy Spirit ten days later. All this explains why there are fifty days between Easter and Pentecost and Augustine expressly believes that the Holy Spirit came on the fiftieth day exactly because of the appropriateness of the number.

25.31. et quomodo ..... ceperunt: the last example which Augustine takes is the 153 fish which seven of the disciples caught after a resurrection appearance of Jesus, related in Joan. 21.6-11.

The explanation of three as the periods before the Law, under the

Law and under grace also appear in Theodoret's commentary on Ps. 18.1 and Clement, Strom. 6.16.

The representation of 153 as 3 x 50 + 3 also occurs in a letter to Januarius (Ep. 55.29-31, cf. Serm. 252.7-12). However in a sermon for Friday in the octave of Easter a different explanation of the number was given, (Sermones Wilmartianos, cf. van der Meer, op. cit., p.380; Serm. 248-251 passim; Tract. in Joh. 122.7-9). All the numbers from one to seventeen add up to 153, therefore on the same principle as the Pythagoreans accepted four as equivalent to ten, 153 equals seventeen. Seventeen represents the relationship of the Law, signified by ten, and grace, signified by seven as the number of gifts of the Spirit.

Chapter 26: Music and Numerology.

The next subject of which Augustine requires his reader to gain knowledge is music. It is important because of the various references to music and musical instruments in the Bible, which Augustine believes have some symbolic value. This symbolism in two of the examples which he quotes, decem chordarum psalterium and the musical quality of sex et quadraginta, are interpreted via numerology. Thus the chapter on music occurs in the context of a section dealing with the significance of numbers. In any case ever since Pythagoras discovered the ratios of musical harmony, mathematics had been an integral part of ancient musical theory and this was not limited to mathematics as we understand the term, but extended to include the field of numerology in Pythagorean and later philosophy (see above chapter 25). Augustine is therefore following a

traditional pattern in this section. His own work, De Musica, contains a discussion in book 1 of the numbers one to ten which conforms to Pythagorean theories (see Marrou (1), pp.266ff.), but as this is a technical treatise on music he does not consider their significance for biblical exegesis.

26.2. Nam et ..... aperuit: Augustine explains the significant difference between the cithara and psalterium in his commentary on Psalm 32.2 (Enarr. in Ps. 32.2. s.1.5-6):

> Confitemini Domino in cithara, in psalterio decem chordarum psallite ei.

The body of the cithara, the sound box, Augustine tells us was at the bottom while in the psalterium it was at the top:

> Cithara lignum illud concavum tamquam tympanum pendente testudine, cui ligno chordae innituntur, ut tactae resonent; non plectrum dico quo tanguntur, sed lignum illud dixi concavum cui superiacent, cui quodammodo incumbunt, ut ex illo cum tanguntur tremefactae, et ex illa concavitate sonum concipientes, magis canorae reddantur; hoc ergo lignum cithara in inferiore parte habet, psalterium in superiore.

The cithara therefore represents things terrestrial, the psalterium things celestial. This distinction can be paralleled in Jerome, Tract. de Ps. 32.2; 149.3 and instr. ps. 7, in Cassiodorus, Exp. in Ps. 32.2; 91.3, and Origen on 32.2 as well as in Augustine's Enarr. in Ps. 42.5; 70. s.2.11 and 80.5.

God is to be praised for all the things of the earth, both in prosperity and adversity on the cithara according to Augustine and Cassiodorus on psalm 32 and both quote Job 1.21 in this context:

> Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Cassiodorus on psalm 56.9 adds to Augustine's terrestrial interpretation of the cithara by identifying it with the passion of our Lord.

The celestial quality of the psalterium is symbolised not only by its sound box being at the top, but by the number of its strings. The ten strings represent the ten commandments which came from above. Aug., Enarr. in Ps. 32.1.2; 32.2.s.1.6; 91.5; 143.16; Cass., Exp. in Ps. 32.2; 91.3; 143.9.

For a description of the cithara, see note on 26.3.

Apart from the connection with the ten commandments, three further interpretations of the ten strings of the psalterium are suggested by patristic authors. According to Origen, Sel. in Ps. 32.2, ten signifies the five bodily senses which can be paralleled with five spiritual senses. This interpretation is also mentioned by Cassiodorus on the same psalm. The second type of interpretation likens the strings to the ten fingers and toes of the human body:

> Simpliciter dico; quotienscumque levamus manus sine cogitationibus et disceptationibus, in decachordo psallimus Domino.
>
> (Jer., Tract. de Ps. 91.4)
>
> ... vel quod homo ipse decem quibusdam chordis manibus ac pedibus extentus, perfectus spiritalium operum suorum gestu motuque psallat, ut cantionem novam hanc cantet.
>
> (Hil. Tract. in Ps. 143.20)

Thirdly Cassiodorus on psalm 91.3 refers to the Pythagorean tetraktys and considers that as the whole system of numbers revolves around the decimal, ten, which is itself represented by the form of a cross, X, this symbolises the redemption of mankind:

> Unus enim, duo, tres et quatuor faciunt decem, qui semper revolutus atque repetitus, in extensas et infinitas

supputationes egreditur. Neque enim in quibuslibet summis ultra istum ordinem novi aliquid reperitur, sed ita probatur esse compositus, ut ipse fiat semper numerabilis, cum nullis novitatibus immutetur. Merito ergo talis calculus totius redemptionis nostrae continet formam, qui per obliquas lineas charactere suo sanctae crucis imitatur figuram et in digitis decori circuli rotunditate concluditur.

26.3. et decem chordarum psalterium ..... denarium: the symbolism of the ten strings of the psaltery as representative of the Ten Commandments has already been discussed in the commentary on 26.2. Apart from referring his reader to the discussion of the number ten in chapter 25, where the number is equivalent to the creator, qua Trinity, and the creature as represented by the number seven, Augustine adds here that the ten commandments also refer to the creator and creature. He explains this more fully in his commentary on psalm 32.2 where the first three commandments are shown to involve the love of God and the following seven love of one's neighbour. (cf. Cass. Exp. in Ps. 32.2)

Musical Theory and Instruments

In classical musical theory the terms chorda/χορδή and nervus/νευρά both mean string (s.v. OLD, chorda; nervus, Or., Sel. in Ps. 32.2) and 'string' and 'note' are synonymous (Sachs (2), p.230). The number of strings on the instrument changed the scale which could be played, e.g. Sachs (2), pp.218ff. explains the difference which the appearance of five strings on the lyre in the eighth century, as opposed to four on earlier vases, makes.

The number of strings on the cithara varied from three to twelve, see K. Schlesinger, The Greek Aulos (Groningen, 1970) p.143, Plut. De Musica 30-31; Pliny, H.N. 7; Nicom. Intr. Harm. p.35M; Aristides

Quintilianus, De Mus. 11.6; Boethius De Musica 1.20.

A description of the cithara is provided by Sachs (1), p.130:

'The kithara had a heavy, solidly joined body, a wooden soundboard and strong arms. In most cases the strings were wound around the crossbar and held fast by greasy rolls of oxskin. By turning or shifting the sticky rolls on the crossbar, the player was able to tune the instrument. Only in a more recent epoch the kithara adopted elaborate contrivances that seem to have supplanted the old napeskin rolls. Among them was an ingeniously made, artistically carved, lever which lifted the crossbar, thus tightening all the strings at once. ....

The kithara was held vertical, or even leaning towards the player. It would have been too heavy to be inclined forward.'

In Ep. 23, to Dardanus on different types of music, attributed to St. Jerome, the Jewish instrument translated as cithara is described as being in the shape of the letter Delta and having twenty-four strings. The triangular shape is then explained as symbolic of the Trinity, a significantly different interpretation from the terrestrial qualities attributed to the instrument in the passages cited above, 26.2.

The psalterium was a type of harp. Harps were known in Greece from at least 450 B.C., but in both Greece and Rome were considered alien instruments, coming from the Orient. (see Sachs (1), p.135f.) Psalterium is the translation used by Jerome of the Hebrew words nevel asor in psalms 32.2 and 143.9. However in psalm 91.3, which Jerome also translates by psalterium, the Hebrew reads ale- asor wa ale-nevel, which must mean on the asor and the nevel and so the A.V. is correct in interpolating an 'and' in the other two psalms, as two different instruments are meant. Sachs (1), p.117ff. concludes from this that the

asor is an instrument of ten strings belonging not to the harp family, but to the zither, which coincides with the description in the letter to Dardanus of the psalterium as an instrument with a rectangular frame and with an eight century ivory pyxis of Phoenician origin in the British Museum, no.118179 showing a zither. The description in the commentaries on the psalms by Jerome and others mentioned above, on the other hand, of the psalterium as an instrument with the body above corresponds with the shape of the vertical angular harp and the oriental skin bottle called nevel in Hebrew. And this is undoubtedly the instrument to which Augustine is referring.

26.10. Et ille numerus ..... indutum: the biblical passage is Joan.2. 19-21 where Jesus says that he will rebuild the destroyed temple in three days. The Jews are astounded and exclaim that it took forty-six years to build the temple. But the Evangelist adds that Christ was speaking of the temple of his body.

(a) nescio quid musicum sonat

The musical quality of quadraginta et sex is, indeed, undefinable. There is nothing to indicate why Augustine considered it to be so, other than the significance of the number cf. comm. below (d).

(b) haereticos

The person of Christ and the relationship of the human and divine in him has always been a subject of controversy. In the Patristic Age those who denied the full humanity of Christ were known as Docetists. They claimed that Christ only appeared to be human and influenced a number of other heretical sects, especially those with a tendency towards dualism like the Gnostics and Marcionites. Augustine is perhaps principally thinking of the Manichees and Arians (for whose views see Kelly (a), pp.8ff; 226ff).

Before his conversion he was himself a Manichaean (see Brown (1), pp.40-60). However heretics who denied the total humanity of Christ were widespread and ranged from the extreme docetist position to less tangible influences which modern scholars such as E Käseman, The Testament of Jesus (London, 1968), believe to be evident in St. John's Gospel. Augustine himself believed firmly in the full humanity and divinity of Christ who had two substances or natures indivisibly united in the one person. This view belongs to the orthodox tradition which eventually found expression in the Chalcedonic definition of 451 which described Christ as having two natures (φύσεις) indivisibly united in one person (πρόσωπον or ὑπόστασις).

For the text of the Chalcedonic definition, see T.H. Bindley, Ecumenical Documents of the Faith (London, 1899).

For a historical review of Christology in the first five centuries, see Kelly (2), pp.138-162; 280-337.

(c) indutum

This is the term preferred by Tertullian to transfiguratus for the Word being made Flesh. The latter implies a change in the Godhead and therefore some kind of dissolution, while the former permits both the humanity and divinity to remain unchanged and united in the single subject Christ, see Kelly (2), p.151.

(d) the conversion of the heretics

Augustine's train of thought is rather abstruse in this passage, as he does not explain why the number forty-six, in relation to the building of the temple and the Lord's body, makes some heretics confess that Jesus was truly human. However his commentary on Joan. 2.19-21 explains what he had in mind (Tract. in Joh. 10.10-12). The Greek letters of the name Adam, according to standard Greek numerical theory, add up to forty-six, alpha representing one, delta

four and mu forty. From this it is self evident to Augustine that forty-six illustrates that Christ took upon himself human flesh. The same theory is given in 'Cyprian', De Montibus Sina et Sion 4.

In De Trinitate 4.[9] in a discussion of the perfection of the number 6, as the sum of the first three numbers, he gives a further reason for the connection of forty-six with Christ's humanity. Six times forty-six equals 276 which in turn as days equals 9 months and 6 days or the standard period of pregnancy. He concludes that this is a further reason, in accordance with Church tradition which celebrates the Annunciation on March 25th and Christmas Day on December 25th, for arguing for Christ's full humanity from the significance of certain numbers, cf. De Div. Quaest. 56; Origen, Comm. in Joh. 10.39. Varro, according to Aulus Gellius Attic Nights 3.10 connects the period of pregnancy with the number seven taking a month as 28 days or four times seven and reckoning the normal period of gestation as 273 days. This is a clear example of how Augustine freely uses his own interpretation of the sacred numbers of the Bible on a subject also tackled by pagan authors dealing with numerology, rather than taking their views as authoritative.

Chapter 27: Varro and the Legend of the Nine Muses.

27.1. Non enim ..... finxerunt: Augustine and Varro are referring to the most common tradition about the Muses, that they were the nine daughters of Zeus/Juppiter and Mnemosyne/Memoria, born in Pieria at the foot of Mount Olympus and called Cleio, Euterpe, Thaleia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania and Calliope, as recounted by Hesiod in Theog. 52ff.

(cf. M.L. West's Commentary on Theog. (Oxford, 1966); Hom., Il., 2.491; Od. 1.10; 24.60; Apollod. 1.3.1.). This became the established tradition in Greece and Rome, but there are various other accounts of their genealogy, number and names, for which see H. Kees, RE, Musai. and A.S. Pease's commentary on Cicero's De Natura Deorum 3.54 (Harvard, 1958). On the worship of three Muses, see note below 27.4.

27.3. Refellit eos Varro ..... possit: this whole chapter, apart from Augustine's comments on Varro himself, is generally regarded as a fragment of one of Varro's works, R.D. Agahd, M. Terenti Varronis Antiquitatum rerum divinarum libri (Lipsiae, 1898), fragment 10a; B. Cardauns, M. Terentius Varro: Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum (Wiesbaden, 1976), vol.1 p.91; vol.2 p.222f. and in fragments collected by the same author in H. Hagendahl, Augustine and the Latin Classics (Göteburg, 1967), vol.1 p.271. Obviously the fragment is evidence of the content of a chapter in one of Varro's works, rather than a direct quotation. Augustine is recalling Varro from memory, as his inability to remember the name of the civitas involved shows, and the style is Augustine's rather than Varro's (cf. Hagendahl, op. cit., vol.2 p.590f.)

There is a disagreement between Cardauns and Agahd on which work of Varro's this fragment is to be attributed. One other fragment of Varro on the subject of the Muses is given in Servius on Ecl. 7.21 of Vergil:

> secundum Varronem ipsae sunt Nymphae quae et Musae. (pergit Serv. auct.) Nam et in aqua consistere dicuntur, quae de fontibus manat, sicut existimaverunt qui Camenis fontem consecrarunt; nam eis non vino, sed aqua et lacte sacrificari solet. (pergit Serv. int.) Nec inmerito, nam aquae motus musicen efficit, ut in hydraulia videmus. Sane sciendum,

quod idem Varro tres tantum Musas esse commemorat: unam,
quae ex aquae nascitur motu, alteram, quam aeris icti
efficit sonus, tertiam, quae mera tantum voce consistit.

Agahd lists this quite simply as fragment 10b, alongside the passage from Augustine (10a), and regards both as coming from the Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum. Cardauns, however, objects to this classification on two grounds in his edition and commentary on the Antiquitates (vol.2 p.223). Firstly he points out that it is only in Augustine's later works, beginning with the De Consensu Evangelistarum written around the year 400 and moving on to the Civ. Dei. that he shows a knowledge of the Antiquitates as opposed to Varro's other works, notably the Disciplinae: apart from this passage of the D.C., there is no other evidence that Augustine had read the Antiquitates before 400. Secondly the discrepancy between the accounts in Augustine and Servius on the three types of Muses leads him to doubt that they are both from the same work. Servius essentially differentiates the three Muses on the basis of sound, as does Augustine and their two versions can be equated:

(a) Servius : unam, quae ex aquae nascitur motu (water-organ)
D.C. 27.18: aut flatu sicut tubarum et tibiarum

(b) Servius : alteram, quam aeris icti efficit sonus
D.C. 27.19: aut pulsu sicut in citharis et tympanis et quibuslibet aliis

(c) Servius : tertiam, quae mera tantum voce consistit
D.C. 27.17: aut enim voce editur, sicuti eorum est, qui faucibus sine organo canunt

But as the equation of the two accounts is in content, rather than form, and because of the lack of quotation from the Antiquitates before 400, Cardauns wishes to attribute the Servius fragment to the Antiquitates and the Augustine to Varro's non-extant De Musica. In favour of the latter attribution it may also be pointed out that Augustine mentions

Varro's comments on the Muses in a section of the D.C. in which he discusses music. However, as Augustine was obviously familiar with the works of Varro, the real lack of mention of the Antiquitates before the Civ. Dei. can be explained by the relevance of the content of that work of Varro to the Civ. Dei., as opposed to other works of Augustine. In addition, as the difference between Servius and Augustine is a difference of form and not content there is no objection to the two accounts appearing in the same work of Varro. Thus Cardauns' arguments do not seem to me tight enough to make a definite attribution of the fragments and from the evidence all we can say about the passage in Augustine is that it could have occurred in either work of Varro. (This is the position of Hagendahl, op. cit., vol.2 p.627, f.n.3, but he does not give the reasons for his opinion.)

Augustine's respect for Varro is immense. The whole of chapter 2 of Civ. Dei. 6 is devoted to a eulogy of him which begins:

> Quis Marco Varrone curiosius ista quaesivit? quis invenit doctius? quis consideravit adtentius? quis distinxit acutius? quis diligentius pleniusque conscripsit?

What he lacks in style, he makes up for in knowledge and is as instructive a teacher to the student of the liberal arts as Cicero is delightful to the man who loves stylistic perfection. The eulogies of Cicero and Terence the grammarian are then quoted:

> homine omnium facile acutissimo et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo
>
> (Cic. Academica Posteriora frag.22 Müller)

> Tum ego: 'Sunt', inquam, 'ista, Varro. Nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu

> bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem, regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti.
>
> (Cic., Ac. Post. 1.9)

> Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro
>
> (Ter., G.L. 6.409)

But at the end of his eulogy of Varro of whom he says, 'He read so much that it is amazing he had any time to write, and he wrote so much that it is scarcely credible that anyone could have read it all', Augustine remarks:

> quid existimare debemus nisi hominem acerrimum ac peritissimum, non tamen sancto spiritu liberum, oppressum fuisse suae civitatis consuetudine ac legibus, et tamen ea quibus movebatur sub specie commendandae religionis tacere noluisse?

In spite of his respect for Varro's learning and writing, Augustine can only deplore his religious views and intentions.

For other eulogistic references to Varro in Augustine's work, see Hagendahl, op. cit., vol.1 pp.266ff; vol.2 pp.627-630. For the importance of Varro with regard to the D.C., see Introduction 2.

27.4. Dicit enim ..... dedicarentur: it is difficult to be certain about exactly which state Augustine has forgotten. Pausanias, 9.29-30 describes the cult of the Muses on Mount Helicon and mentions that, as well as statues of them all by Cephisodotus, there is a group of which three apiece were done by the fourth century artists, Cephisodotus, Strongylion and Olympiosthenes. As Pausanias also tells us that originally three muses, Melete, Mneme and Aoede, were worshipped on Mount Helicon, it looks like the place in Varro's tale of the three artists. The one difficulty is the mention of the statues being placed as a gift in the temple of Apollo. As goddesses of song they are often linked with Apollo and

Pausanias states that there is also a statue of Apollo fighting with Hermes over a lyre on Mount Helicon, but he does not mention a temple of Apollo, only the grove of the Muses. Further in the records of the festival of the Muses of Mount Helicon, reorganised by the Thespians in the third century B.C., there is no evidence of Apollo's inclusion (see L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford, 1909), vol.5 p.436).

Three Muses were also worshipped at Sicyon (Plut., Sympos. 9.14) and at Delphi, where they were called either Nete, Mese and Hypate, the lowest, middle and highest notes of the lyre, (Plut., op. cit.) or Cephisso, Apollonis and Borysthenis, as daughters of Apollo (Arnobius, 3.7; Serv., Ad Verg. Eclog. 7.21; Diod. 4.7). However there is no association of three artists with three sets of statues for either Sicyon or Delphi. Statues were made by Aristokles, Ageladas and Cannochus, probably for Sicyon as the latter two were natives of that town (RE, Musai p.735(a)), but from the epigram in Anth. Pal. 16.220 it is clear that only three statues were made in toto.

In the article in RE (p.735) Ausonius' Riddle on the Number Three is mentioned in connection with this passage of Augustine/Varro. In the riddle, lines 30-33, Ausonius states that Cithaeron "sanctified" three times three statues of the Muses. However, we know nothing about these statues (in a note the Loeb editor, H.G.E. White refers his reader to Pausanias on Helicon, discussed above), and as Ausonius' riddle is about the number three, it is quite possible that three times three is used merely to show that it is a multiple of nine, the accepted number of the Muses, and has no connection with three sets of three statues.

From the extant evidence therefore, it is most likely that Varro's reference is to Helicon in Boeotia. In that case, the problem of the temple of Apollo may be solved if either Varro or Augustine is mistaken about its existence or we are about its non-existence. Alternatively, some other district, for which we have no evidence about three sets of

statues being made, is meant.

27.11. Quibus ..... vocabula: see Hesiod, Theog. 52ff. and above note on 27.1.

27.12 Tres autem ..... demonstraverant: the Muses appear to Hesiod on Mount Helicon (Theog. 22ff.) and in Od. 24.491 they are present singing a dirge on Achilles' death.

27.15. sed quia ..... canora sunt: on the tripartite nature of sound, see commentary on 27.3. For a description of the tuba and tibia see 4.11 and for the cithara 26.3. The tympanum of classical antiquity was either a hand beaten frame drum, usually with two skins, or a more curious object known from Apulian vases of the last centuries B.C., which looked like an upside down bowl with the bottom cut off, entirely covered with skin. (Sachs (1), pp.148f.)

Chapter 28: All truth is God's truth; no knowledge is to be despised even if ~~it~~ comes from a pagan source.

28.1. Sed sive ..... disputemus: Augustine's interest in music for the study of Scripture is in a sense academic. As can be seen from chapters 26 and 27, his only concern with musical instruments and theory is to determine the symbolic value of their mention in Scripture. This is true of Augustine's other works and Patristic literature in general. The main reason for this is that musical instruments were used predominantly in pagan religious rites, such as the cult of Cybele in which women played the tympanum, and the theatre, an

entertainment greatly discouraged by the Fathers.
(For the attitude of the Latin Fathers to the theatre, see comm. 38.7). In the liturgy of Augustine's time, as in the synagogue, the singing would be unaccompanied.

Augustine's attitude to music was somewhat ambivalent. It was the hymns of Ambrose which first deeply moved him. When Ambrose was being attacked by the Arians his congregation remained in the basilica one night to protect him, and they passed the night singing psalms and hymns. Monica was present and overwhelmed by this experience and the rumour went round the town, spread by the Arians, that Ambrose had bewitched the people by song. Afterwards, Augustine not yet converted, went to the church with his mother and could not forget what he had seen or heard. (Conf. 9.7.15). In the preceding passage of the Confessions, Augustine also relates how he wept after his baptism, with Alypius and his son Adeodatus, at the singing:

> quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter! voces illae influebant auribus meis et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis.
>
> (Conf. 9.6.15)

He encourages his people to sing. In his letter to Januarius (Ep. 55.34), he remarks that when the congregation are not praying or listening to a reading or sermon, there is nothing better they can do than sing. He encouraged his monks to sing on their journeys and at work (De Opere Monachorum, 17.20; Enarr. in Ps. 66.6; 137.10). Yet in Conf. 10.33.49-50, he speaks of the difficulties he experiences in the sensual pleasure of sacred music, which sometimes distract him from the words which are being sung, and his desire sometimes that all the pleasant melodies of the psalms could be kept far from his ears and that of the

Church. But he admits to being over cautious and too severe in this respect at times, when he remembers the salutary character of music, as after his conversion and concludes:

> ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis magisque adducor non quidem inretractabilem sententiam proferens cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia, ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat. tamen cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus quam res, quae canitur, moveat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor et tunc mallem non audire cantantem. ecce ibi sumus!

On Augustine's attitude to music and for further references, see van der Meer, op. cit., pp.325-337 .

28.6. Neque enim ..... Mercurium: Cicero in the De Nat. Deor. 3.56 tells of a Mercury worshipped by the people of Pheneus who was exiled to Egypt after killing Argus and there gave the Egyptians their laws and letters. The legend is common in antiquity: for references to it and other traditions of the alphabet see Pease's commentary on De Nat. Deor., pp.1112-1114. Pease mentions D.C.2.28, which he attributes to Varro "apud Augustinum". There is no indication in the D.C. to show that Augustine's remarks either about writing or the temples to Justice and Virtue must have come from Varro, unlike the legend of the nine Muses. His authority could equally well have been Cicero or Quintilian (3.7.8.) or Tertullian (De Cor. 8), which are all cited by Pease. In Civ. Dei. 18.39-40, Augustine mentions the tradition that the Egyptians received their alphabet from Isis and gives Varro as his authority. Varro could have quoted both legends about the Egyptians and writing, but it cannot be concluded from the D.C. that he does mention Mercury in his account.

28.8. aut quia ..... fugienda est: the personification and deification of abstract ideas is a feature of both Greek and Roman religion. It arose probably from the attribution of various qualities to the gods and goddesses of the pantheon, such as Nike from Athena at Athens or Artemis at Delos or Victoria from the cult of Juppiter Victor at Rome; alternatively they could arise from a psychological law, such as the cults of Φόβος or Ἔρως, deep primal emotions, or from an ethical and political significance for the state, such as Εἰρήνη or Ὁμόνοια. On this aspect of Greek religion, see Farnell, op. cit., vol.5 pp.434-447, on Roman religion, see C. Bailey, Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome (California, 1932), pp.134-143.

Farnell, regards the cults of Δίκη and Δικαιοσύνη, and Ἀρετή of Pergamon as of late emergence and a product of Hellenistic ethic (op. cit., vol.5 p.446, with references). In Roman cult, a statue was dedicated to Iustitia Augusta on 8 Jan. A.D. 13:

signum Iustitiae Augustae ... Ti. Caesar dedicavit
Planco et Silio cos.

(Fasti Praenestini, inscr. Ital. 13.2 p.113)

cf. Horace Odes 1.24.6 Iustitiae soror ... Fides and note in Nisbet and Hubbard's Commentary (Oxford, 1970), p.284f.

Virtus is a military virtue, whose worship probably stemmed from the cult of Virites Quirini at Rome (cf. Bailey, op. cit., pp.135 and 137). M. Marcellus during the battle of Clastidium in 222 B.C. vowed a shrine to Honos and Virtus; its dedication was opposed by the pontiffs and eventually in 205 B.C. his son dedicated the temple of Virtus at the Porta Capena. (cf. Pease on De Nat. Deor. 2.61, p.694).

28.10. immo vero ..... veritatem: in Joan. 14.6, Jesus says:

Ego sum via et veritas et vita

The Holy Spirit is also called the Spirit of Truth in a number of places

in the Bible, e.g. Joan. 14.17:

> Spiritum veritatis, quem mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum, nec scit eum .....

28.12. quam conferens ..... serpentium: Augustine concludes the chapter with a quotation from Rom. 1.21-23 warning Christians against the wisdom of this world, which is not always truth.

Chapter 29: Types of Pagan Knowledge.

The last major division of subject matter occurred in chapter 15, when Augustine explained that he would deal in turn with ignota signa propria/ ignota signa translata and ambigua signa propria/ ambigua signa translata. In chapter 23 he began to discuss the kind of knowledge which he considered necessary for a proper understanding of ignota signa translata in Scripture. After giving various examples expressing the need for a knowledge of languages, the nature of things, numerology and music, he realises the need to give a survey of pagan knowledge indicating what it is profitable for the Christian to study and what is to be avoided. Thus in chapter 29, following the general pattern of the structure of the D.C. so far, and of technical treatises in general (see Introduction 2), he makes a theoretical division of pagan knowledge and discusses its various subjects under the appropriate category.

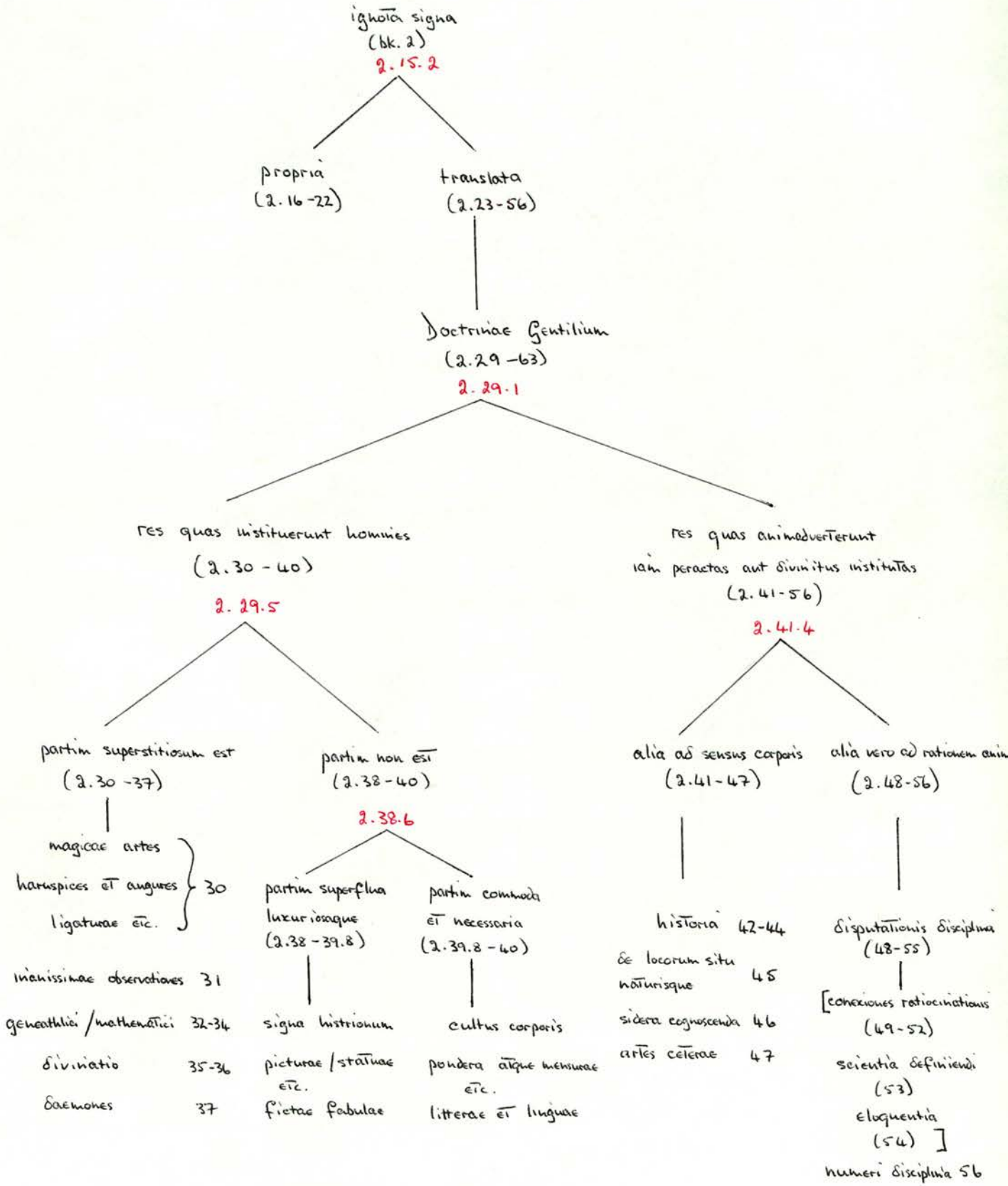
29.2. duo sunt ..... exercentur: the division of doctrina into two classes appears to be original to Augustine. It is not the case that the pagans divided their knowledge into two categories, a possible interpretation of

the Latin, but that Augustine does so from the Christian point of view. For further discussion, see below 29.3.

Gentiles The word here means 'pagan', cf. comm.6.1.

29.3. Unum earum ..... non est: the classification of subjects, which provides the framework for the remainder of book 2, can most easily be expressed in diagram form.

The Structure of Book 2.23-63



57-63 : Conclusion

As indicated, the diagram is a continuation of the analysis of book 2.1-23 on exactly the same pattern, with the division into genera and partes.

From the examples in TLL doctrina, II.B.1-7, it is clear that there is no break with the pagan tradition in the application of doctrina to numerous different artes, but there is no indication of any such division of doctrina as made by Augustine. This is not unexpected, as any author imbued with traditional Roman religion would be unwilling to have his gods and their worship dismissed as institutions of men and pacts with demons (see below 30.1) and would regard one of the gods as the founder and patron of the arts mentioned by Augustine as invented by men, e.g. Mercury is said to have given the alphabet to mankind (see comm. 28.6). And at the other end of the religious scale the Epicureans and sceptics would be unwilling to admit of the second half of Augustine's main division of doctrina, that some arts are instituted by God. In terms of thought the nearest one might come to Augustine is in the Stoic philosophy of the λόγος as the formative and guiding principle in nature and identified with God, as the main category in res divinitus instituta is the science ofreasoning. But this cannot provide a parallel for the actual division of doctrina and Augustine was no Stoic.

There is some similarity to Augustine's division in the title and categories of Varro's Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum. Both the 25 books of Res Humanae and the 16 books of Res Divinae, after the exordium, had sections on men, places, time and things, a fifth on the gods being added to the latter (see Hagendahl, op. cit., pp.601ff.) However, as Varro's purpose was a revival of Roman religion, a fact which Augustine bemoans in Civ. Dei. 6.2, unlike the sign theory which forms the structure of book 2 as a whole, the similarity between the two in this instance is only in terms of form and the very basic distinction between things human and things divine, rather than content. Augustine's

thought in this half of the book is a product of the need for a clear statement of the Christian attitude to pagan knowledge in the fourth century, cf. Introduction 1.

Marrou (1), p.407 declares that Augustine's programme in this and the previous section (16-22) is the norm for a good education at this period, with only slight modifications in the addition of Hebrew to Greek, a new definition of history and the exclusion of classical authors as text books.

Chapters 30 - 37: Superstition

Under the general heading of 'the superstitious part of things instituted by men' comes everything from the most inane practices like remembering to tread on the threshold as you go out of the house to the carefully calculated systems of the astrologers. It is obvious from the works of Augustine alone that such beliefs were rife in the fourth century and into the fifth. Historians of the period differ in their views about an increase in sorcery in the Late Roman Period compared with earlier times. A.A. Barb, for instance, claims that the task of a Roman Emperor in this field was 'perhaps never more difficult than in the fourth century, when the syncretistic, rotting refuse-heap of the dead and dying religions of the whole ancient world grew to mountainous height'.[1] P. Brown, by contrast, would claim that 'it is an inverted anachronism common among historians of the Later Roman Period to project

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[1] 'The Survival of the Magic Arts', p.104, in The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Oxford, 1963), ed. A. Momigliano.

an undifferentiated force of 'superstition' into the safe remoteness of the fourth century'.[1] However none would disagree that the society of the period was riddled with superstition.

From the beginnings of Christianity, this type of superstitious magic is condemned. St. Paul in Eph. 6.12 tells the Christian that he must fight against 'principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places', and this dictum is followed in the condemnation of all superstition by the Christian writers from Minucius Felix to Augustine[2].

The attitude of the State and the laws of the period at first look in absolute accord with the views expressed by the Fathers. Ammianus Marcellinus recounts many gruesome tales of the harsh penalties for even seemingly harmless superstitions. One young man who was seen in the public baths touching alternately the marble tiles and then his breast with the fingers of each hand and uttering aloud the seven vowels of the Greek alphabet, as a cure for stomach trouble was taken to Court, tortured and beheaded. An old women, brought in to cure the daughter of the imperial governor of Asia from malaria by a mild charm (levi carmine), was condemned to be executed by the girl's father.[3]

These accounts, along with the laws of the Theodosian Code led Gibbon and many subsequent writers on the subject to conclude that the Emperors were acting under the influence of Christian doctrine, but it is now generally held that there is no tangible evidence to this effect.[4]

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1 Brown (2) 'Sorcery', Religion and Society in the Age of St.Augustine (London, 1972), p.122.

2 see commentary below and, for a brief survey of the period, L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (London, 1923), pp.462-479.

3 29.2.28 and 26 respectively.

4 see notably F. Martroye, 'La Repression de la Magie et le Culte des Gentils au IV^{e} Siècle', Revue historique du Droit français et étranger 4 (1930) 669-701.

The laws De Maleficiis et Mathematicis et Ceteris Similibus and De Paganis, Sacrificiis, et Templis[1] date from that of Constantine in 319/20 to Theodosius II and Valentinian III in 435 and variously condemn haruspices, mathematici, harioli, augures, vates, Chaldaei and any other malefici. But in so far as they do not censure paganism as one of the magicae artes they are more in line with the tradition of Augustus and Tiberius than that of the Church Fathers. Superstitious practises and pagan worship are condemned equally and in the same terms by Christian writers: both are the work of demons and to be avoided at all costs. Constantine, however, specifically says that the celebration of pagan rites at public altars or ceremonies is permitted and it is only private practice which is vetoed.[2] Constantius II is not so lenient, stating in 357:

> Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas
>
> (Cod. Theod. 9.16.4)[3]

but by 371 Valentinian, Valens and Gratian effectively render this void, by declaring:

> Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum caussis habere consortium iudico, neque ipsam aut aliquam praeterea concessam a maioribus religionem esse arbitror criminis.
>
> (Cod. Theod. 9.16.9)

Divination is no longer condemned, but only forbidden to be practised harmfully.

In 391 and 392, under Theodosius and Valentinian II, there is further legislation and an end of toleration of pagan rites, public and private alike:[4] but the controversy was not yet at an end. With the

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1 Cod. Theod. 9.16; 16.10.

2 Cod. Theod. 9.16.1-3; cf. 16.10.1

3 cf. 16.10.2-6.

4 Cod. Theod. 16.9.11-12.

murder of Valentinian II, and accession of Eugenius to his place, a repeal of the anti-pagan laws was sanctioned and it was only in 394, with the defeat of Eugenius by Theodosius in the battle on the Frigidus, that Christianity won the day.[1] Imperial legislation from then continually vetoes pagan rites.

The victory, however, was a legal rather than a social triumph. The influence of the old religion in Italy can be seen in the Senate in the fourth century and the fight to uphold it by such men as Symmachus, Flavianus and Praetextatus, as well as in the continual need for legislation and the trouble which the Fathers took to denounce it.[2] That the provinces got off no less lightly is evident from the D.C.: writing three years after the victory of 394, Augustine still devotes half of book 2 to pagan knowledge, and a substantial part of that to a denunciation of pagan religion and superstition. And again, a letter of Augustine's written in 408, complaining about the failure of the magistrates to put into effect the laws against paganism shows the difficulties of curtailing the old religion.[3]

Chapters 30 - 31: Superstitions.

30.1. Superstitiosum est ..... poetae: Augustine's definition of superstition is naturally made from the standpoint of Christianity.

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[1] see S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire (London, 1906), pp.35f.

[2] see Dill, op. cit., chapter 2 and R.A. Markus, 'Paganism Christianity and the Latin Classics', in Latin Literature of the Fourth Century. ed. J.W. Binns (London, 1974), pp.1-21.

[3] Ep. 91.8.

The first part of the definition:

> quicquid institutum est ab hominibus ad facienda et colenda idola pertinens

dismisses the pagan gods as superstition, the worship of idols condemned in the Ten Commandments: cf. Civ. Dei. 8.24, for a discussion of idolatry and the gods made by men. The second part of the definition:

> vel ad colendam sicut deum creaturam partemve ullam creaturae

echoes St. Paul's words in Rom. 1.25:

> Qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium: et coluerunt, et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in saecula. Amen.

At the end of chapter 28 Augustine quoted verses 21-23 of Rom. 1, so the traces of verse 25 help to reinforce what he was saying in chapter 28 and to link this section with the preceding one.

The third part of the definition:

> vel ad consultationes et pacta quaedam significationum cum daemonibus placita atque foederata

refers to demons, whom Augustine regards as the main cause of superstition and which will be discussed in the following chapters after a description of various superstitious practices. (On demons see 37).

Augustine thus regards superstition as the worship of false gods or idols, and practices and teaching contrary to Christian belief. This is similar to Lactantius, who defines religio and superstitio as follows:

> .... religio veri dei cultus est, superstitio falsi.
>
> (Div. Inst. 4.28.11)

While the particular definition of superstition given by Augustine and Lactantius is Christian, in general terms it concurs with at least some of the pagan meaning of the word. The etymologies and definitions

of superstitio are various and it is frequently opposed to religio: for a full discussion and references, see A.S. Pease's commentary on Cicero's De Div. 2.148 Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 8 (1923), and the same author on De Natura Deorum 2.71-72.

The main etymologies and definitions involve superstes and supersto and the idea of superfluus is also associated with superstitio.

(a) Cicero De Nat. Deor. 2.72:

> Qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant ut sibi sui liberi superstites essent superstitiosi sunt appellati, quod nomen patuit postea latius.

(b) Lactantius, Div. Inst. 4.28.13-15

> superstitiosi autem vocantur non qui filios superstites optant - omnes enim optamus - sed aut qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt aut qui parentibus suis superstites colebant imagines eorum domi tamquam deos penates. nam qui novos sibi ritus adsumebant, ut deorum vice mortuos honorarent quos ex hominibus in caelum receptos putabant, hos superstitiosos vocabant, eos vero qui publicos et antiquos deos colerent religiosos nominabant.

cf. Lact. Div. Inst. 4.28.11, quoted above, and remainder of section 28.

(c) Donat. ad Ter. Andr. 487:

> superstites sunt senes et anus, quia aetate multis superstites iam delirant, unde et superstitiosi, qui deos nimis timent, quod est signum deliramenti.

(d) Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 8.187.

> superstitio est timor superfluus et delirus aut ab aniculis dicta superstitio, quia multae superstites per aetatem delirant et stultae sunt aut secundum

Lucretium (1.66) superstitio est superstantium rerum,
id est caelestium et divinarum, quae super nos stant,
inanis et superfluus timor.

(e) Isid. Etym. 8.3.6:

superstitio dicta eo quod sit superflua aut superinstituta observatio
alii dicunt (sc. superstitionem dictam) a senibus quia multis annis superstites per aetatem delirant et errant superstitione quadam, nescientes quae vetera colant aut quae veterum ignari adsciscant.

Pease on the De Div. comments that of all the etymologies and definitions which he notes, including those quoted above, the nearest to expressing the complex of ideas which Cicero would have included under the term is that involving superfluus, meaning that which is an addition, a superfluous attachment to the 'normal' religious observances. It is this use, taken from the standpoint of Christian belief, to which Lactantius (Div. Inst. 4.28.11) and Augustine adhere.

Superstitio, in both pagan and patristic authors does not have the modern connotation of something surviving from a previous culture, however likely this view may seem from a historical perspective or from the Latin superstes.

30.8. Ad hoc genus ..... condemnat: Augustine begins his discussion of all the different types of amulets used as preventives and cures against illnesses, evil spirits, lovesickness etc. A detailed study with illustrations of the classes of amulets is to be found in C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets (Michigan, 1950).

(a) ligaturae

Ligatura is the technical term favoured by Augustine and later writers for amulets: amuletum is used by Varro according to

Charisius, G.L. 1.105.9 and occurs passim in Pliny's Historia Naturalis.

For examples of these types of cures, see below.

(b) The condemnation of the medical profession.

The line between ancient medicine and magic was a fine one, largely because of the lack of knowledge and popular nature of medicine. Where it had been given study, as in Ancient Medicine and Airs, Waters and Places from the Hippocratic Corpus it is obvious that superstition had been driven out and disease was regarded as a natural phenomenon to be cured by natural means: but Greek medicine in the fourth century B.C. was far in advance of general Roman medical treatment, even in the fourth century A.D. Pliny in the Historia Naturalis is a major source for medicine in the Roman world and treatments from abroad, but while he condemns magic almost as strongly as Augustine in the opening chapters of book 30 and seeks to divorce it from medicine, some of the cures which he recommends, such as kissing a mule's muzzle as treatment for a cold, show how far popular medicine had degenerated from Hippocrates.

Of the later physicians the best known is Galen of Pergamum (A.D. 129 - ?199). During his career he worked and taught at Rome. He often calls other physicians magicians. A doctor who used mouse dung to excess was called superstitious and a sorcerer, and Pamphilus, who wrote on herbs, is condemned for having descended to old wives' tales, Egyptian sorceries and incantations, amulets and other magical devices which are utterly false and do not belong to medicine. (C.G. Kuhn, Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia (Leipzig, 1821-1833), 12.307 and 11.792-793 respectively.)

While Galen condemns superstition and magic, his own methods are not entirely free from their influence. He recommends a

ligature, to be bound round the patient's neck, of a viper which has been suffocated by strings, preferably of marine purple (K.11.860). He declares that there is no medical reason to account for the effectiveness of amulets, but says that those who have tested them claim they work by some antipathy unknown to man, (K. 12.573; 13.256). He does, however, draw the line at the use of images, characters and incantations (K. 12.573; 12.256; 12.295-296).

It is clear that, as Augustine states, magic in general was frowned upon and separated from medicine by the serious doctor, the philosopher-physician, but their services were limited and expensive, and the ordinary christian would be much more likely to come up against the magical cures which Augustine is condemning. On medicine in the Ancient World, see J. Scarborough, Roman Medicine (London, 1969) and L. Thorndike, op. cit., vol.1, especially chapter 4 on Galen.

30.10. sive in praecantationibus ..... manifestas:

(a) praecantationes

By incantations Augustine is probably referring to the spells used in conjunction with amulets, rather than to the writing on amulets, which would come under the category caracteres (see below (b)). Cato, Agr. 160, provides an example in a cure for dislocation of a limb. A long green reed, split in the middle, was held to the patient's limb and the chants:

motas vaeta daries dardares astatares disunapiter

and

haut haut istasis tarsis ardannabout dannaustra

were repeated. cf. Vergil, Eclogue 8.78 and the repetition of Veneris ... vincula necto for an example of a non-medical incantation. On the importance of the spoken word in magical ritual in general, see Hastings ERE 'Magic".

In the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus (29.2.28) tells of a young man at the public baths who touched alternately the marble tiles and his breast with the fingers of both hands and then counted out the seven vowels of the Greek alphabet as a remedy for stomach trouble, (for the success of the cure, see above p.169). cf. F. Dornseiff, Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie (Berlin, 1925), pp.35ff.

(b) in quibusdam notis, quos caracteres vocant

Many of the amulets would have figures or words inscribed on them which were believed to give efficacy to the charm, such as the so called abraxas stones, or the amulets with Ephesian formulae or mysterious words like abracadabra (Dornseiff, op. cit., p.64), cf. comm. 24.19. They were used as prophylactics, to ward off the evil eye, as well as to cure existing diseases or more sinisterly to invoke harm on a person. The vendors of amulets use to write on the magical papers the names of Christ, Michael and Gabriel or the words KE BOHΘI: κύριε βοήθι - 'a coating of honey on a bitter poison' as Augustine describes them. (Tract. in Joh. 7.6)

Gold, silver and precious stones were generally used for beneficial charms. Barb, op. cit., p.121, describes a silver sheet found in a Roman tomb in Austria of the late third century with a Greek charm against headache, πρὸς ἡμικρανιν, on it:

> 'The charm is in the form of a little story:
> Antaura - that is the obviously Neoplatonic name of a female demon - arose from the sea crying and shouting. Artemis of Ephesus (the goddess of magic, often identified with Hecate) met her, asked her where she was going, and exorcised her.'

Lead appears to have been the customary material used for 'black magic' and hundreds of Defixiones, sheets of metal lead preferably pierced with nails and buried have been found inscribed in Greek and Latin and dating from the early classical period to late Roman times.

The inscriptions contain the names of the persons to whom evil was intended with the invocation of infernal demons. The later ones especially were used against charioteers and horses and are our main source for the names of horses in antiquity. (see Barb. op. cit., p.119f.)

Besides inscriptions and drawings many amulets bear letters which belong to no known alphabet. In the magical papyri these are called χαραικτῆρες and the term has been adopted in this limited sense by archaeologists (see Bonner, op. cit., p.12). There is, however, no indication that Augustine limited the term in this way. The most that can be said, perhaps, is that they were differentiated from figurationes and figmenta, which refer to drawings made according to the pattern of certain constellations (Civ. Dei. 10.11, cf. M.E. Keenan, 'The Terminology of Witchcraft in the Works of St. Augustine', Classical Philology 35 (1940) 294-297): but caracteres may equally be an all-embracing term.

Inscriptions on amulets are discussed in Bonner, op. cit., pp.167-228, drawings passim in the discussion of purposes of amulets pp.1-166.

(c) sive in quibusque rebus suspendendis atque inligandis

Amulets were frequently worn on the person, suspended round the neck in the form of a pendant or necklace, or like a sash across the body, as well as in the form of bracelets, rings and ear rings. (see illustrations in D.S., amuletum) They could be made of any material, animal, vegetable or mineral. Galen recommends the suspension of a peony to cure epilepsy, suggesting that some particles of the root are perhaps inhaled by the patient or alter the surrounding air. (K. 11.859) He also employed the gem jasper hung round the neck so that the stones touched the stomach as a cure for disease of the digestive tract. (K. 12.207) The design of the lion headed snake was a common feature

on these jasper amulets, but Galen specifically recommends it without any words or design inscribed. (For further examples of stomach amulets see Bonner, op. cit., pp.51-66)

Amulets were also bound to people or attached to houses or walls, cf. the ligature recommended by Galen described above, 30.8(b). Pliny, H.N. 28.157 states that sorceries are meant to be counteracted by fixing the muzzle of a wolf to the gates of houses.

(d) vel etiam saltandis quodammodo

The meaning of saltandis is rather obscure. Ritual dances were performed both in Greek and Roman religious ceremonies: among these that of the Salii is probably the most famous in the Roman world. It is also true that Augustine and the church in general condemned dancing. There is not however any obvious connection between these examples and Augustine's use of saltandis to describe a class of ligaturae or remedia, nor do there appear to be any dances, which like praecantationes are used in conjunction with amulets, unless one regards the walking round the altar in Vergil's love spell of Eclogue 8.73ff. as a formal dance, which seems unlikely.

The French Benedictine edition prints aptandis in an attempt to make more sense of the text. Migne's edition follows this emendation stating that a codex from Rheims has this reading, while Martin in the CC edition records the reading in his apparatus, attributing it to the French edition.

Aptandis seems a rather poor substitute for saltandis given that the word is emphasised by etiam and could really only provide a synonym for suspendendis atque inligandis. The principle of emendation does, however, appear to be the correct one in this instance. For not only is there difficulty in finding a suitable 'dance' for the word to refer to, but there is also the problem of making sense of the text given that in quibusque rebus is to be understood from line 9. 'Things for

hanging and for binding' are obvious descriptions of amulets, but 'things for dancing' does not obviously mean a dance and there is no evidence of amulets used in dancing.

By a simple palaeographical change, salutandis may be substituted and it fits the context much more easily. Salutare is used of worshipping the gods, e.g. Cic. Rosc. Am. 20.56, and paying respects to stones or statues was common in pagan religion. Theophrastus relates how the superstitious man used to venerate stones at the cross roads, pouring oil over it and getting down on his knees and kissing it (Χαρακτῆρες 16.5: see note in the edition of R.G. Ussher (London, 1960), pp.142f. for further examples.) It is probably to this type of superstitious practice that Augustine is referring.

(e) non ad temperationem corporis

Cf. chapter 46 where Augustine states that his objection is not to things like taking a herb drink for stomach trouble, but to hanging it round your neck to improve the pain. For in the latter case it is doubtful whether the herb acts by a natural process, in which case he approves of it, or by some charm. His attitude is similar to that of Galen, for which see above, 30.8.

30.16. sicuti sunt ..... teneas:

(a) in aures in summo aurium singularum

When Possidius asked Augustine what he was to do about men who came to church wearing ear rings and refused to take them off Augustine replied that if things were so bad that prohibition was no use, then Possidius must at least see to it that they did not justify their superstition: such amulets must be got rid of if possible, though ear rings worn to please men could stay (Ep. 245.1-2).

(b) de strutionum ossibus ansulae in digitis

Rings were commonly used as amulets in antiquity. A fragment

of the comic poet Antiphanes refers to a ring used for protection against colic and other stomach troubles (fr. 177 Kock; cf. Bonner, op. cit., p.4f.) The use of ostrich bone in particular is more difficult to identify, as there is no other reference to such a ring. Bonner, op. cit., pp.212-214 does however describe some stomach amulets of Graeco-Syrian origin engraved with ostriches.

(c) cure for hiccups

Cf. Pliny H.N. 28.57, where he relates how people often used to change their ring from the left hand to the longest finger of the right as a result of hiccuping or sneezing: other cures are kissing the nostrils of a mule and scratching the palm of each hand with the other, recommended by Varro.

Chapter 31: Inane Superstitions

Theophrastus' character sketch of the δεισιδαίμων (no. 16) provides countless examples of the type of superstition Augustine describes in this chapter: for particular similarities see notes below.

31.2. si iunctim ..... intervenerit: as far as the omens are concerned, while the dog was thought to be unclean in antiquity and particularly connection with Hecate (see Ussher's note on 16.1.33), it is obviously the intervention between the friends which causes the superstition and not the particular qualities of the thing or person which intervenes as neither stones, nor boys are inherently unlucky.

31.3. atque illud ..... mittit: like Cato in the example below 31.13ff., Augustine is making fun of the superstition by his description of the chaos

which might ensue if there is a dog around to avenge the boy cuffed in retaliation.

31.11. limen calcare, cum ante domum suam transit: superstitions about the threshold are common, e.g. Cat. 61.159:

transfer omine cum bono
limen aureolos pedes

For further examples, s.v., TLL, limen, l.A1B.

31.12. redire ad lectum ..... sternutaverit: cf. 30.16(c) on hiccups and sneezing.

31.13. cum vestis ..... roderentur: mice were generally regarded to be an evil omen in the ancient world, and this belief underlies the cult of Apollo Smintheus (Strabo, 13.164). Cicero, De Div. 1.9, like Cato mocks superstition when he derides the omen of the shields being gnawed by mice at Lanuvium, which forboded the Social War (see Pease's note adloc) Theophrastus' δεισιδαίμων is also worried when mice nibble a sack of barley (Χαρακτῆρες 16.6).

Chapters 32-34: Astrology

In the section on superstition, the astrologers are singled out for a particularly long and vehement attack. Apart from their obvious widespread influence, there are two other reasons for the lengthy denunciation. Firstly, Augustine himself had been heavily involved in astrology (Conf. 4.3.4-5, cf. Brown (1), pp.57-58) and from the story related in Conf. 7.6.8ff. it is clear that only after some struggle did

he completely reject it. Secondly, a denunciation of astrology was a topos in both pagan philosophical writings and the works of the Fathers and the arguments which Augustine uses are largely called from these sources (see comm. 33-34). The mathematici also appear continually in the legislation of the fourth century against superstition (see above Superstition pp.168ff.)

32.1. neque illi ..... vocantur: the use of the term mathematici for astrologers, to which Augustine is objecting, is post-Augustan, appearing in Tacitus, Juvenal and later writers. Genethliaci, which he favours as more accurate, is mainly used by Augustine himself and apart from in his quotations from Varro, e.g. Civ. Dei. 22.28, does not appear before Aulus Gellius (14.1.1) in the second century A.D.: even after that its usage is not frequent. The normal classical term is astrologus, which is used indiscriminately for both astrologer and astronomer, the distinction being blurred in antiquity, without even the word astronomia occurring in classical Latin, cf. Cic. De Div. 2.87 with Pease's note. Chaldaei, the other term used by the Fathers, means astrologer in both classical and Christian Latin.

32.3 nam et ..... siderum:

(a) liber and servus

The man who goes to consult an astrologer is described as being a free man when he enters, but a slave of Mars and Venus when he comes out. The metaphor of slave and free is common in the New Testament, especially in Paul's epistles, and this was undoubtedly in Augustine's mind, or at least subconscious mind, when he wrote the passage. In Rom. for example, Paul describes the difference between the Christian and the non-Christian in terms of slavery:

> Nescitis quoniam cui exhibetis vos servos ad
> obediendum, servi estis eius, cui obeditis,

sive peccati ad mortem, sive obedientis ad iustitiam?
Gratias autem Deo quod fuistis servi peccati,
obedistis autem ex corde in eam formam doctrinae,
in quam traditi estis. Liberati autem a peccato,
servi facti estis iustitiae.

(6.16-18)

and freedom:

Quia et ipsa creatura liberabitur a servitute
corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei.

(8.21)

(b) Slave of Mars or Venus

cf. Enarr. in Ps. 140.9:

Sedent et computant sidera; intervalla, cursus,
volubilitates, status, motus intendunt, describunt,
coniciunt. Docti, magni videntur. Totum hoc doctum et
magnum, defensio peccati est. Eris adulter, quia sic
habes Venerem; eris homicida, quia sic habes Martem.
Mars ergo homicida, non tu; et Venus adultera, non tu.
Vide ne et et pro Marte et pro Venere tu damneris. .....
ipse ergo mathematicus si uxorem suam paulo petulantius
viderit conversari, aut aliquos alienos improbe adtendere,
aut fenestram crebro repetere; nonne arripit, verberat,
et dat disciplinam in domo sua? Respondeat illi uxor;
Si potes, Venerem caede, non me. Nonne et ille respondebit;
Fatua, aliud est quod competit rectori, aliud quod
profertur emtori.

For further examples of Augustine's opinion of and attitude to the astrologers, see van der Meer, op. cit., pp.60-67.

32.11. quibus illi ..... vocabula: the names of the constellations and planets, both in antiquity and the present day largely conform to Augustine's idea that they were called after animals which they resembled in shape, such as Leo or Pisces, or to honour some person, like Berenices Crinis, which was introduced by Conon to honour the sister/wife of Ptolemy Euergetes (Eratosthenes, Καταστερισμοί, 1). There are, however, some exceptions, as stars were also named after objects which they resembled: the Great Bear is also known as Ἅμαξα (Il. 18.487; Od. 5.275), or Ἑλίκη, from its sweeping round in a curve. The gods were also honoured, as Augustine's examples of Mars and Venus in the first part of the sentence illustrate.

It is rather difficult to pinpoint the attribution of most of the names. The only constellations mentioned by name in Homer are the Great Bear / Waggon, Bootes and Orion and the clusters of the Hyades and Pleiades (Il. 18.485-489; Od. 5.272.275). Hesiod mentions the Pleiades (Op. et Di. 383), the Lesser Bear (ib. id., 566), the Hyades (ib. id., 615), Orion (ib. id., 598) and Sirius (417 et passim). For discussion and possible sources of the nomenclature, see M.L. West's Commentary (Oxford, 1978) on the lines mentioned. Pliny (H.N. 2.31) attributes the invention of the signs of the zodiac to Cleostratus of Tenedos. The major extant sources for astronomy, apart from references in ancient literature, are Aratus, whose poem is probably based on the work of Eudoxos of Cnidos, and Ptolemy in the seventh and eighth books of his Almagest, which were probably based on the work of Hipparchus, whose writings have perished, apart from one less important treatise. The Latin writers such as Cicero, Germanicus, Avienus, Vitruvius, Pliny and Columella took over the work of their Greek predecessors, without extending it in any great way.

In this passage Augustine's intention is to denounce astrology,

not to attack particular people, when he says illi primi: indeed, in so far as the authorities mentioned above are serious writers on astronomy, it is extremely unlikely that he would wish to attack them, as in 2.46 he states quite clearly that it is the superstition attached to the study of the stars, i.e. astrology, which he objects to, not the study of the stars in itself i.e. astronomy, though in the main in antiquity there was no distinction of the two, cf. comm. 32.1.

32.13. Non enim mirandum est ..... petiverat: the example which Augustine gives of the attempt to dedicate the star Lucifer to the name and honour of Julius Caesar would appear to be original to him, amongst extant authorities, in its present form. The identification of Caesar with one of the stars is to be found in Suetonius' Divus Iulius 88 where the tale of the comet which appeared at the Games of 44 B.C. is related:

> Siquidem ludis, quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in vertice additur stella.

Ovid, in his account in Metamorphoses 15.745-879, has a different version which this time features Venus, but does not coincide exactly with Augustine's account. In book 15, Venus is represented as being very concerned about the fate of her descendant and is counselled by Juppiter to turn his soul into a beam of light, that the deified Julius may eternally look down upon the Forum. This she does immediately after his murder:

> Vix ea fatus erat; media cum sede senatus
> Constitit alma Venus nulli cernenda, suique
> Caesaris eripuit membris, nec in aera solvi

Passa recentem animam, coelestibus intulit astris
Dumque tulit, lumen capere, atque ignescere sensit,
Emisitque sinu. Luna volat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens spatioso limite crinem
Stella micat.

(Metam. 15.842-848)

In neither of these versions, however, is any connection made between Caesar and a particular star, such as Lucifer. The only mention of Lucifer is in the Ovid (line 789), where one of the omens of Caesar's impending murder is that the star became tinged with a dark iron colour. On the other hand, Lucifer is commonly identified as the Stella Veneris (see Cicero De Nat. Deor. 2.53 with Pease's note): and so given that, along with Caesar's relation to Venus and the tradition of the comet being associated with his deification, it becomes easy to see how the version of Augustine came into being.

32.22. Pro Quintili enim ..... nuncupatos: Julius was substituted for Quintilis in the reformed Julian calendar in 44 B.C. The month was chosen as it was that in which Caesar was born. (Censorinus, 22). Augustus himself inserted his name for Sextilis when he reinstated the Julian Calendar and rectified the mode of intercalating in 8 B.C. Suetonius (Div. Aug. 31) and the Senatus Consultum, preserved by Macrobius (1.12), both state that he chose Sextilis, rather than his birth month September, as it was in that month that he was first admitted to the Consulship, three times entered the City in triumph, had the legions from the Ianiculum place themselves under his auspices, brought Egypt under Roman control and ended the Civil Wars.

Chapters 33-34: The argument from twins.

33.1. Sed ex ea ..... superstitio: cf. comm. 32.

33.7. Fieri autem potest ..... vivat: the argument against astrology from the differing fortunes of twins born under the same horoscope is also used by Augustine in Civ. Dei. 5.1-6, De Div. Quaest. 45.2, Conf. 7.6.8ff. and De Gen. ad Litt. 2.17.

The argument itself, however, goes back to the classical pagan authors and was the most common one for refuting astrology. It is used by Cicero in De Div. 2.90:

> ..... etenim geminorum formas esse similis, vitam atque fortunam plerumque disparem. Procles et Eurysthenes, Lacedaemoniorum reges, gemini fratres fuerunt. At ii nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita brevior fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria praestitit.

cf. Pers. 6.18-19; Sen. De Ben. 7.1.5; Lamprid. Commod. 1.4; Favor. ap. Gell., 14.1.26 cited in Pease's note on De Div. 2.90.

Amongst Christian writers, Origen (Eus., Praep. Evang. 6.11) mentions the problem of twins, and through Augustine the argument passed into the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see T.O. Wedel, The Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology (London, 1920), p.11, n.3; p.46,n.2; pp.80, 86 and 130.

In the Confessions he relates how he was led to a consideration of this phenomenon while still under the influence of astrology by a story from his friend Firminus. This man's father had been a keen observer of the horoscopes of all with whom he came into contact. It happened that when his wife was pregnant with Firminus, a slave girl belonging to a friend and fellow observer of the stars was also with child and the two men took careful notice of when they were born. The two children were

born so closely together that they had to be given the same horoscope, yet Firminus being nobly born had an easy life, while the other child was never raised from his lowly position. Ruminating on this and on the case of twins, he abandoned astrology, even before his conversion.

This form of argument, from two persons born at the same time for the purposes of astrology, but not twins, is also common in both pagan and christian authors, cf. Cic. De Div. 2.96 and Pease's note with parallels from Pliny H.N. 7.165; Sext. Emp. 5.88-89; Hippol. Refut. 4.5; Ambr. Hexaem. 4.14 and Aug. Civ. Dei. 5.7; De Gen. ad Litt. 2.17.

The standard astrological defence on this point is provided by Manilius 2.707-712:

> idcirco, quamquam signis nascantur eisdem,
> diversos referunt mores inimicaque vota;
> et saepe in pecudes errant humana, maremque
> femina subsequitur; miscentur sidere partus,
> singula divisis variant quod partibus astra
> dodecatemoriis proprias mutantia vires;

cf. the retort of Sextus Empiricus 5.99:

> οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί, ὡς ἀνώτερον ἐλέγομεν, τῶν
> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ζωδίῳ γεννωμένων οὐθ' αἱ
> μορφαί εἰσιν αἱ αὐταί οὔτε τὰ ἤθη ἐστὶν ὅμοια,
> ἔκτος εἰ μὴ τὰς μοίρας εἰς ἃς ἕκαστον διαιρεῖται
> ζῷδιον καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ φήσουσι τῆς τοιαύτης διαφορᾶς
> εἶναι ποιητικά. ὃ παλιν ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον. ἐδείξαμεν γὰρ
> τὴν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις τῆς ἀποτέξεως καὶ ὡροσκοπήσεως
> ἀκρίβειαν ἀσύστατον.

Augustine, in the Confessions, after reflecting that in a case like that of the well born and slave born child the astrologer would have to take into account station in life before pronouncing a horoscope,

concludes:

> Unde autem fieret, ut eadem inspiciens diversa dicerem, si vera dicerem - si autem eadem dicerem, falsa dicerem - inde certissima colligi ea, quae vera consideratis constellationibus dicerentur, non arte dici, sed sorte, quae autem falsa, non artis inperitia, sed sortis mendacio.
>
> (Conf. 7.6.9.)

In Civ. Dei. 5.6 Augustine introduces a further difficulty in the horoscopes of twins, viz. when they are of different sex. He quotes an instance of where the male twin married and travelled all over the world in the army, while the female remained in the one place as a sacred virgin, yet both would have the same horoscope. This objection also occurs in Caesarius, Dial. 2.109, Greg. Mag. Homil. 10.4, but not in any of Augustine's predecessors, pagan or christian.

The other main argument against astrology was the converse of the 'twins argument', the case of people born at different times, but with the same fate. Cicero (De Div. 2.97) demands of the battle of Cannae:

> Ego autem haec requiro; omnesne qui Cannensi pugna ceciderint uno astro fuerint; exitus quidem omnium unus et idem fuit.

Hippolytus in the same vein remarks:

> εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκίδι τοῦ Τοξότου γεννηθέντα, ὡς οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀνάγκη σφαγήσεσθαι, πῶς αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν βαρβάρων μυριάδες ἀγωνίζομεναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἢ Σαλαμῖνι ὑφ' ἓν κατεσφάγησαν; οὐ γὰρ δή γε ἐπὶ πασῶν<ὁ> αὐτὸς ἦν ὡροσκόπος.
>
> (Refut. 4.5)

Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Fatum 164D-165B adds the Flood, the destruction of Sodom, the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea and countless more, cf. also Favorinus ap. Gell., 14.1.27-28; Ps. Clem. Recognit. 9.30; Sext. Emp. 5.91-92 and Pease on De Div. 2.97.

33.13. sicut Esau et Jacob ..... pervagata: for the birth of Esau and Jacob, cf. Gen. 25.25:

> Qui prior egressus est, rufus erat, et totus in morem pellis hispidus: vocatumque est nomen eius Esau. Protinus alter egrediens, plantam fratris tenebat manu: et idcirco appellavit eum Jacob.

The varying fortunes of Esau and Jacob are described in Gen. 27-50.

Esau and Jacob as examples of twins in this context also occur in Civ. Dei. 5.4, De Gen. ad Litt. 2.17 and Conf. 7.6.10.

Chapter 34: The difference in the time of birth of twins.

34.1. Neque enim ..... intuetur?: the same astrological objection of the significant difference in the time of birth even of twins is also quoted in the Civ. Dei. 5.3, with the example of the potter's wheel, where it is attributed to Nigidius:

> Frustra itaque adfertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac quaestione turbatum, unde et Figulus appellatus est. Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit intorsisset, currente illa bis numero de atramento tamquam uno eius loco summa celeritate percussit; deinde inventa sunt signa, quae fixerat, desistente motu, non parvo intervallo in rotae illius extremitate distantia. Sic, inquit, in tanta rapacitate caeli, etiamsi alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur, quanta rotam bis ipse percussi, in caeli spatio plurimum est: hinc sunt, inquit, quaecumque dissimillima perhibentur in moribus casibusque geminorum.

His conclusions are the same as in the D.C., that it is not much use to argue that there is a significant, but incalculable difference in the time of birth, as predictions are made and based on what can be calculated. He goes on in the Civ. Dei. to argue that all astrology is therefore futile and not to be taken seriously. It does not of course follow that because some things are incalculable, all astrological calculations and predictions are therefore false, however much suspicion it may throw on the study of the stars: but, in any case Augustine objected to astrology, on Christian grounds, even when its findings were borne out by experience. (see below, 35.6 and 12)

The difficulties of the Chaldaeans in obtaining an exact time of birth for anyone, because of having to decide at what point the baby is 'born', whether when its head first appears, or when it is fully emerged from the womb, and then this information having to be conveyed to the astrologer observing the stars, along with the possible difficulty of there being a significant difference, if the stars are observed from one latitude rather than another, are all discussed by Hippolytus in Refut. 4.4-5. He concludes that it is impossible to fix an accurate time of birth and so all horoscopes are thrown into disrepute. For further discussion, see A. Bouché - Leclercq, l'Astrologie Grecque (Paris, 1899), pp.588-93; 620-622.

Chapters 35 - 37: Demons.

In these chapters Augustine describes how the superstitious arts instituted by men, dealt with in chapters 30 - 34, all evolve from fellowship and pacts with demons.

35.1. Hinc fiet ..... subiecta est:

(a) The Sin of the Angels

In both pre-Christian Judaism and Christianity, it was held that angels, spiritual beings, were created in the beginning by God. In Jewish literature the need to explain evil gave rise to the doctrine that part of the angels had sinned. This was taken up in the New Testament and further developed by the Fathers, who believed that the angels were beings gifted with reason and given freedom for making personal, moral decisions, (Justin, Dial. 102; Tatian, Orat. 7; Athenagoras, Leg. 24.4; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.37.1 and 6; Augustine, Civ. Dei. 22.1; Greg. Mag., Moralia 6.16), and thus capable of sin (Augustine, Ench. 15.56-58).

There is no reference as such to angels who have sinned in the canonical Old Testament of the Jews, but various ancient authorities, both Jewish and Christian, saw a source for the idea in Gen. 6.1-4:

> Cumque coepissent homines multiplicari super terram,
> et filias procreassent,
> Videntes filii Dei filias hominum quod essent pulchrae,
> acceperunt sibi uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant.
> Dixitque Deus: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine
> in aeternum, quia caro est: eruntque dies illius centum
> viginti annorum.
> Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis:
> postquam enim ingressi sunt filii ad filias hominum,
> illaeque genuerunt, isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri
> famosi.

Speculative interpretation on this passage supposed it to mean that part of the angels had sinned (filii Dei being taken as a reference to angels) and that their sin was one of sexual union with women. (Jub. 4.22; 5.1.6.10; 1 Enoch 6-7, et passim; Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch 56.12-13; Philo, De Gigantibus 6; Josephus,

Ant. 1.3.1.73; Justin, 2 Apol. 4ff.; Athenagoras, Leg. 24.5; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.36.4; Clement, Str. 3.59.2; 5.10.12; Min. Fel., Octavius 27.2; Tertullian, Apol. 22.4-8; De Cultu Fem. 1.2.1-4; 1.4.1; Cyprian, De Hab. Virg. 14; Lact., Div. Inst. 2.15.8; Ambrose, De Virg. 1.52ff.; De Noe et Arca 4; Jud. 6; 2 Pet. 2.4.)

According to this theory, the sin of the angels occurred in the course of human history before the flood and logically had to be differentiated from that of Satan, who had already fallen by the time of Adam and Eve, as according to Gen. 3.1-5 and 13-14 he then existed as the tempter. Augustine in the Civ. Dei. 15.23 accepts this and rejects the above interpretation of Gen. 6, distinguishing between the Holy Angels who fell with Satan before the creation and the Sons of God of the Genesis passage, cf. on Gen. 6, Origen, Contra Cels. 5.55 and John Chrysostom, Hom. 22 in Gen 2. The offences of Satan and the other angels are also linked by other Patristic writers, sometimes in spite of the logical difficulties, and by the Mediaeval period, Augustine's interpretation of the events became the accepted one, cf. Tatian, Orat. 7.5; Athenagoras, Leg. 24.4; Augustine, Gen. ad Litt. 2.15; Ench. 28.104-108; Greg. Mag., Moralia, 4.8; 4.15; 27.65; Thomas Aquinas, S.T. 1a.63.8.

The reason for Satan's fall was generally regarded by the Fathers, after Origen, as pride. Again there is no specific mention of this in the canonical Old Testament, though texts from Isaiah and Ezekiel, are used by the later writers to support this view. In Isa. 14.12-15 it is written:

> Quomodo cecidisti de coelo lucifer, qui mane oriebaris? corruisti in terram, qui vulnerabas gentes?
> Qui dicebas in corde tuo: In coelum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in

monte Testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis.

Ascendam super altitudinem nubium, similis ero

Altissimo.

Verumtamen ad infernum detraheris in profundum

laci.

In the Lucifer of this passage and the King of Tyre of Ezech. 28.12-19, Origen saw a reference to a supernatural being, who must be Satan and from these passages his fall was attributed to pride. There is also some indication in the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch 6-7) that some overlap between the myth of the lustful angels and Isa. 14 may already have begun, as indicated in the imagery of the angels falling like stars from Heaven. In Slavonic Enoch (2 Enoch) it is clearly stated that one of the angels rebelled through pride and was cast out of heaven with his followers.

Apoc. 12.9ff. tells the story of the last and ultimate fall of Satan, with the war in heaven and the victory of the archangel Michael: it is not another version of the fall of Satan (see, A. Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Oxford, 1964), p.147)

(b) Demons

From the time of Origen, Satan and the fallen angels became the tempters and seducers of mankind, while for those who adopted the earlier theory of the lustful angels, the souls of the product of their union with women adopted the same function (Clementine Homilies 8, cf. references above for lustful angels). The distinction between fallen angels and demons is blurred and the two terms are used interchangeably. In the New Testament, the fallen angels are mentioned only twice, once in Jud. 6 and one in 2 Pet. 2, though the mention of demons is frequent. It seems that the fallen angels are used for the most part to explain the presence of evil influences, which accounts for their more frequent use in the Fathers for demons.

As for the identification of astrology and the magic arts with demons, this was a commonplace in patristic authors, e.g. Origen, Contra Cels. 1.60; 5.38; 5.45; 7.69; 8.59: Min. Fel. Oct. 26.10; Lact. Div. Inst. 2.15ff. Hippolytus alone (Refut. 4) attempts to show that astrology and magic are illogical and based on deceit, instead of attacking it as evil and the work of demons. (cf. Origen, references above, where he clearly states that magic is not deceitful, but stems from demons.)

It can be seen, therefore, that the explanation of the origins of demons in the N.T. and the Fathers comes from Jewish literature. There is no such explanation in classical or pagan writers. There is considerable similarity between Christian and classical/pagan thought on the nature of demons. In both they are spiritual bodies existing between heaven and earth (cf. Plato, Symp. 202D; Plut. De Iside 360E; comm. 35.6), but in classical/pagan thought, as intermediaries between the gods and men, they are either good or neutral beings (cf. Plato, Symp. 202D): even when Plutarch introduces the idea of evil in their nature (cf. De Iside 360E; De Defectu Oraculorum 416C), he regards them only in part as evil, with a mixed nature of good and evil (De Iside 360E). For Christian writers, by contrast, with the possible exception of Minucius Felix who comments favourably on Socrates' δαίμων (Oct. 26.9), demons are totally evil and do not communicate the word of God to men. The Fathers thus felt compelled to refute pagan theories of demonology, as in Augustine's refutation of Apuleius of Madaura (Civ. Dei. 8 and 9 cf. comm. 36.1(b)).

For a study of evil in antiquity, see J.B. Russell, The Devil, Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity (Cornell, 1977), especially chapter 5, 'Hebrew Personifications of Evil'.

35.6. Quibus inlusionibus ..... perniciosissimi erroris: in the De Divinatione Daemoniorum 5.9, Augustine explains that demons' ability to predict the future and ensnare men stems from their possessing spiritual bodies:

> Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis, per illam subtilitatem suorum corporum corpora hominum non sentientium penetrando, seseque cogitationibus eorum per quaedam imaginaria visa miscendo, sive vigilantium sive dormientium. Aliquando autem non quae ipsi faciunt, sed quae naturalibus signis futura praenoscunt, quae signa in hominum sensus venire

non possunt, ante praedicunt. Neque enim quia praevidet medicus quod non praevidet eius artis ignarus, ideo iam divinus habendus est. Quid autem mirum, si quemadmodum ille in corporis humani vel perturbata vel modificata temperie seu bonas seu malas futuras praevidet valetudines; sic daemon in aeris affectione atque ordinatione sibi nota, nobis ignota, futuras praevidet tempestates?

cf. Contra Acad. 1.6.16-7.21, also Min. Fel. Oct. 26.12; 27.2; Tert. Apol. 22,4,8,10; Lact. Div. Inst. II. 14.6,14 on the spiritual nature of demons, their method of ensnaring men and their ability to foretell the future.

35.12. Hoc genus ..... credatis eis:

(a) fornicatio animae

By this Augustine means idolatry, cf. comm. 36.4, for which fornicatio was frequently used. Isidore, Sent. 2.39.18 defines it thus:

> Fornicatio carnis adulterium est, fornicatio animae servitus idolorum est.

For further examples s.v. TLL fornicatio.

(b) divina scriptura non tacuit

The Scriptural warning is contained in Deut. 13.1-3:

> Si surrexit in medio tui prophetes, aut qui somnium vidisse se dicat, et praedixerit signum atque portentum, et venerit quod locutus est, et dixerit tibi: Eamus, et sequamur deos alienos quos ignoras, et serviamus eis:
>
> Non audies verba prophetae illius aut somniatoris: quia tentat vos Dominus Deus vester, ut palam fiat utrum diligatis eum an non, in toto corde, et in toto anima vestra.

cf. Quaest. in Hept. liber quintus: Quaest. Deut. 18, where Augustine also expounds Deut. 13.1-3 and God's trial of man's love for him by permitting the true prophecies of demons.

In De Div. Daem. 3.7-4.8 he uses a different type of argument. Having stated that their power comes from their different type of body (see comm. 35.6.), he follows this with a series of rhetorical questions suggesting that on the same basis we ought also to marvel at the 'miracles' achieved in the theatre and elsewhere by means which we do not understand.

35.16. Non enim ..... exsecranda sunt: In 1 Reg. 28 Saul, afraid of the host of the Philistines and forsaken by the Lord, goes to the Witch of Endor to ask her to conjure up the dead Samuel. She obeys him and Samuel foretells correctly that the next day Israel will be delivered into the hands of the Philistines and Saul and his sons will die.

The Witch of Endor is a subject of frequent mention in the Fathers when dealing with magic. Justin Martyr (Dial. 105) and Origen (Hom. 2 in 1 Reg. 28) believe that the soul of the dead Samuel was actually invoked, and Justin uses this as a proof of immortality. Tertullian, on the other hand declares that when ghosts are called up, they are impersonated by demons and believes this to have been the case with Samuel. (An. 57.8) In the fourth century there were two treatises on the Witch of Endor, Gregory of Nyssa's De Pythonissa and Eustathius of Antioch's De Engastrimytho contra Originem: both agreed with Tertullian rather than Origen. Gregory states that as Samuel was already in paradise, his soul could not be invoked from the infernal regions. Eustathius likewise disagrees with Origen's view that Samuel was in Hell and believes that the witch did not invoke Samuel, but only made Saul think that she did. He deplores Origen's view as it may encourage simple men to delve into divination and, reading:

Cras autem tu et Jonathas filius tuus mecum eritis

in verse 19, for

Cras autem tu et filii tui mecum eritis

the accepted reading of the Vulgate, he declares the prophecy inaccurate, and so quite compatible with being made by a demon.

Augustine tackles the question in the De Diversis Quaestionibus ad Simplicianum 2.3 written in 396, in which he does not come down firmly on either side. He believes it possible that Samuel's soul was actually invoked:

> Item quaeris, utrum spiritus immundus qui erat in pytonissa potuerit agere, ut Samuel a Saule videretur et loqueretur cum eo.
>
> Sed multo maioris miraculi est, quod ipse satanas princeps immundorum omnium spirituum potuit loqui cum deo et petere tentandum Iob iustissimum virum, qui etiam apostolos tentandos petit.
>
> ... nonne magis mirandum est quod satanas ipsum dominum assumsit et constituit super pinnam templi?
>
> ... non est absurdum credere ex aliqua dispensatione divinae volunatatis permissum fuisse, ut non invitus nec dominante atque subiugante magica potentia, sed volens atque obtemperans occultae dispositioni dei, quae pytonissimam illam et Saulem latebat, consentiret spiritus prophetae sancti se ostendi aspectibus regis divina eum sententia percussurus.
>
> (Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.1.)

But he also believes that it could have been a diabolical illusion, and not actually Samuel:

> Quamquam in hoc facto potest esse alius facilior exitus et expeditior intellectus, ut non vere spiritum Samuelis excitatum a requie sua credamus, sed aliquod phantasma et imaginariam inlusionem diaboli machinationibus factam, quam propterea scriptura nomine Samuelis appellat,

> quia solent imagines earum rerum nominibus appellari quarum imagines sunt .....
>
> Quis enim est qui hominem pictum dubitet vocare hominem?
>
> (Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.2.)

Unlike Eustathius, he is not troubled by the prophecy coming true, even if made by demons (cf. above 35.6 and 12):

> Iam vero si illud movet, quomodo et a maligno spiritu Sauli vera praedicta sunt, potest et illud mirum videri, quomodo daemones agnoverint Christum, quem Iudaei non agnoscebant. ..... Unde etiam spiritus pythonius in actibus apostolorum attestatur Paulo apostolo et evangelista esse conatur.
>
> (Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.3.)

He concludes by urging caution in approaching the idea that the whole thing is a demonic illusion, and declares that he can say no more than that it was achieved by the evil agency of the witch:

> Sed quoniam, sive illud fieri possit sive non possit, tamen fallacia satanae atque imaginum simulandarum callida operatio decipiendis humanis sensibus multiformis invigilat, pedetemtim quidem, ne inquisitoribus diligentioribus praescribamus, sed tamen potius existimemus tale aliquid factum maligno pythonissae illius ministerio, quamdiu nobis aliquid amplius excogitare atque explicare non datur.
>
> (Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.3.)

In the De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus 6, written in 422, he relates verbatim his reply to Simplicianus, but adds a further paragraph, which shows further inclination towards the idea that it actually was the ghost of Samuel which was invoked:

> Haec sunt quae tunc de pythonissa et Samuele rescripsi.

> Sed quam non frustra dixerim, pedetemtim nos in hac re gesta simulatam Samuelis imaginem maligno pytonissae ministerio praesentatam existimare debere, ne inquisitoribus praescribamus, mea posterior inquisitio declaravit, quando inveni in libro Ecclesiastico, ubi patres laudantur ex ordine, ipsum Samuelem sic fuisse laudatum, ut prophetasse etiam mortuus diceretur.
>
> (6.5)

In the passage of the D.C., imago Samuelis could be taken as a reference to the actual ghost of Samuel, as distinct from the simulatam Samuelis imaginem, and from the following:

> ... talia sacrilegia, quibus imago illa praesentata est ...

and the lack of mention of any debate on the matter this is perhaps the more likely.

35.19. aut quia ..... mundavit: the reference is to Act. 16.16 and the woman who followed Paul and his friends, declaring them to be servants of God able to show men the way to salvation. In the Vulgate text, she is described as:

> puella quaedam habens spiritum pythonem
>
> (παιδίσκη τις ἔχουσα πνεῦμα Πύθωνος LXX)

but Augustine's ventriloqua femina recalls the Witch of Endor in the LXX version of 1 Reg. 28.7, where the Vulgate reads mulier habens pythonem.

This example from the Acts of the Apostles is also quoted by Augustine in Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.3 (cf. comm. 35.16) as similar to the Witch of Endor and Saul, in so far as she recognises Paul and his colleagues as servants of God and the Witch prophesies correctly to Saul.

36.1. Omnes igitur artes ..... daemoniorum fieri:

(a) artes

The syntax of the sentence demands that artes, the reading of RCVKP, is correct and artifices, the reading of BDFLEug., a corruption. For omnes igitur artes is qualified by quasi pacta, which then takes over as the subject of the main verbs, sunt repudianda et fugienda, and it does not make sense for artifices, i.e., men skilled in the magic arts, to be aligned with pacts of a false and treacherous friendship.

(b) The Gods of the Pagans as Demons.

In the quotation from 1 Cor. 10.19ff. St. Paul identifies all the gods of the pagans as demons. This follows the belief of orthodox Yahwism contained in Deut. 32.17:

> Immolaverunt daemoniis, et non Deo, diis quos ignorabant: novi recentesque venerunt, quos non coluerunt patres eorum.

and Psa. 105.36-37:

> Et servierunt sculptilibus eorum: et factum est illis in scandalum.
> Et immolaverunt filios suos, et filias suas daemoniis.

cf. Origen, on Psa. 116.5.

From the second century A.D., in which pagan demonology reached its peak with Plutarch (e.g. De Genio Socratis), Apuleius of Madaura (De Deo Socratis) and Maximius of Tyre (Dissertationes 15), it served Christian apology well to identify the two:

> Eos spiritus daemonas esse poetae sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui ad nutum et arbitrium adsidentis sibi daemonis vel declinabat negotia vel petebat.
>
> (Min. Fel., Oct. 26.9)

cf. Athenagoras, Suppl. 23-27; Tert. Apol. 21-22.

36.14. In omnibus ..... conantur: cf. comm. 35.1 for the devil as prince of the fallen angels. In Matt. 9.34; 12.24 and Marc. 3.22 the devil is called princeps daemonium (cf. Eph. 2.2. princeps potestatis aeris huius and Joan. 14.30 and 16.11 princeps mundi huius). The Latin diabolus, from the Greek διάβολος, is a translation of the Hebrew satan, one manifestation of the devil, not the devil himself. It was only in later Hebraic tradition that there came to be the Devil par excellence (cf. comm. 35.1). For the various titles of the devil in Judaic literature and the New Testament, see Russell, op. cit., pp.175-220 and 229 respectively.

36.17. Sicut autem ..... percutiatur:

(a) si mula pariat

The foaling of mules was something of a rarity and therefore considered ominous. Pease suggests that the superstition perhaps also arose in part from taboos associated with hybrids. For examples of the superstition in ancient literature, see Cicero, De Div. 1.36 with Pease's note. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 6 (1920))

(b) fulmine aliquid percutiatur

The striking of temples and statues by lightning is frequently mentioned as a portent in ancient writers. Livy 27.25.8 tells us that this was the reason for the pontiffs preventing the dedication of a temple to Honor and Virtus in 208 B.C. For further examples, see Pease's note on De Div. 1.19.

Chapter 37: The common language between demons and men.

In this chapter, as in the previous one, Augustine's language becomes much more rhetorical, with assonance, rhyme, repetition and parallelism between clauses prominent: this is, in effect, the peroration to his attack on demons and their intercourse with men, (they only merit two further sentences in chapters 38 and 40 as the whole section on 'things instituted by men' is brought to a close), and so, given that alongside his strong feelings on the subject the overall style of chapters 36 and 37 is not unexpected.

For Augustine's use of language in general in the D.C., and further reference to the rhetorical elements of these chapters, see Introduction 3D.

37.1. Quae omnia ..... servitutis: the chapter opens with two sentences beginning with quae. The quasi clause of the first sentence echoes that of the opening of chapter 36 and reiterates the concept expressed there, substituting communi lingua for societas and pacta, as Augustine wishes to use an argument from linguistic theory against the demons.

37.4. Non enim ..... valerent: the meaning becomes clear from Augustine's remark at the end of the chapter, that the flight or sound of birds only have meaning when the augurs choose to observe and interpret them; and from his theory of signs, as all the superstitions which he condemns are like a language, in so far as they are signa and not the res themselves and thus gain their significance by a common agreement on their interpretation.

37.6. Et ideo ..... vident: cf. note on 35.6 concerning the demons' ability to deceive men.

37.10. Sicut enim ..... observationibus valent: Augustine illustrates the pact between men and demons by an analogy from language and its diversities, which he believes to be signs established by common agreement amongst nations.

(a) una figura litterae, quae decusatim notatur

The reference is to the letter X which differs both phonologically and morphologically in Latin and Greek. In Greek it would be pronounced [X] and represented the number 600 as χ΄, 600,000 as ͵χ, and in inscriptions 'X' stood for the first letter of χίλιοι-αι-α meaning 1,000. In Latin it would be pronounced [ks] and represented the number 10.

(b) beta

The phonetic sound beta [bɛ;ta] in Greek represents the second letter of the alphabet and in Latin a vegetable of the beet family, cf. Petronius, 56.9 and the riddle with the pun on the two meanings of beta:

> 'muraena et littera': murem cum rana alligata
> fascemque betae accepit.

and Isidore, Etymol. 17.10.15:

> Beta apud nos oleris genus; apud Graecos littera.

(c) lege

The Greek λέγε and Latin lege, pronounced similarly and the present imperative active of their respective verbs λέγειν and legere, differ only in the meaning of the root: λέγειν is commonly 'to speak' and legere 'to read'.

Chapters 38 - 40: Institutiones hominum non superstitiosae

In this section Augustine very briefly treats the second major division of institutiones hominum, the non-superstitious institutions, dealing, first, with those which are superfluous and luxuries and, secondly, with those which are more fitting and may be regarded as necessities.

38.1. Quibus amputatis ..... institutae: cf. comments on language in note on chapter 37. The phrase:

> Quibus amputatis atque eradicatis ab animo christiano

is a variation on the opening of chapter 36:

> Omnes igitur artes ... quasi pacta ... penitus sunt repudianda et fugienda christiano.

which will be repeated again in 40.6 as:

> Quorum ea ... penitus repudianda et detestanda

38.4. Namque omnia ..... necessaria: for the division of subject matter, see commentary on 29.3.

38.7. Illa enim ..... audire: as in 4.6, it is surprising that Augustine draws his illustration from the theatre. It is even more surprising that the theatre is not put formally in the category of institutiones superfluae et luxuriosae, though this is obviously that category which he has in mind as it is dealt with immediately afterwards, and the theatre would come under the sub-class fictae fabulae.

39.1. In picturis ..... similia: for the sentiment, cf. Quaest. ad Simpl. 2.3.2, part of which is quoted above in the note on 35.16.

39.3. Et hoc totum ..... fiat: Augustine regards art as superfluous for two main reasons:

(a) Its perpetuation of paganism and idolatry.

In Epistle 91.5 artists and sculptors are listed among those who help keep lurid stories in circulation by depicting the immorality of the gods.

In Enarr. in Ps. 113.s.2.4-6 he considers art in pagan religion to be idolatry. For, he claims, though these people may declare that they are worshipping the numina behind the idols, it is clear from their practice that they are not:

> Quis autem adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, ab eo sibi praestari quod desiderat speret? Itaque homines talibus superstitionibus obligati, plerumque ad ipsum solem dorsum ponunt, preces fundunt statuae quam solem vocant; et cum sonitu maris a tergo feriantur, Neptuni statuam, quam pro ipso mari colunt, quasi sentientem gemitibus feriunt.

(b) Its potential for abuse and misconception.

There were many representations in art of the Lord handing to Peter and Paul a partially unrolled scroll. In De Cons. Evang. 1.10.16 Augustine relates how from this some people actually thought that Christ had written letters to the two apostles.

On the words, sessio ad dexteram Patris, he expressly condemns a literal interpretation and states that it is forbidden to place such an image in a christian church:

> Credimus etiam quod sedet ad dexteram Patris. Nec ideo tamen quasi humana forma circumscriptum esse Deum Patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus dextrum aut sinistrum latus animo occurrat; aut idipsum quod sedere Pater dicitur, flexis poplitibus fieri putandum est, ne in

> illud incidamus sacrilegium, in quo exsecratur Apostolus eos qui commutaverunt gloriam incorruptabilis Dei in similitudinem corruptibilis hominis. Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est christiano in templo collocare; multo magis in corde nefarium est, ubi vere est templum Dei, si a terrena cupiditate atque errore mundetur.
>
> (De Fide et Symbolo, 7.14)

He also considers that the case of Marcellina, a gnostic, proves the danger of abuse of art, relating how she burned incense before the ikons of Jesus, Paul, Homer and Pythagoras quite indiscriminately (De Haer. 7). Van der Meer, op. cit. p.318, rightly points out that this anecdote bears a 'suspicious resemblance to the lararium of Alexander Severus, where next to statues of the divine emperors, Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham and Orpheus, there was also one of Christ (Lampridius, Vita Alex. Sev. 29.2).'

In his section on Augustine and art (pp.317-324), van der Meer also indicates how the aesthetic theories of the old Platonists, which attempted to explain beauty by a purely rational process in terms of mathematical and geometrical forms, affected Augustine's outlook. But unlike music, art never seems to have captured his imagination or interest: he neither expounds on it favourably intellectually or emotionally and is only rarely tempted to allude to a picture, as in sermon 316 which concerns a representation of the stoning of Stephen. (cf. his attitude to music in comm. 28.1).

(c) Patristic attitudes to Christian Art.

Augustine was not alone in his fear of idolatry in art: it was indeed a natural conclusion from the pagan worship of gods in statues and the Christian belief that the pagan gods and their statues were demons (see comm. 36.1), as well as from Exod. 20.4-5:

Non facies tibi sculptile, neque omnem similitudinem
quae est in coelo desuper, et quae in terra deorsum,
nec eorum quae sunt in aquis sub terra.
Non adorabis ea, neque coles .....

The early Greek writers are at one in their condemnation of the worship of idols, e.g. Ep. ad Barn. 20; Ep. ad Diog. 3; Didache 3.4; Origen, Contra Cels. 3.4 and thus implicitly of Christian Art. There is no mention in the literature of the first three centuries of Christian Art in the Near East and very little extant remains, except the paintings discovered at Dura. N.H. Baynes in his article 'Idolatry and the Early Church', Byzantine Studies and Other Essays (London, 1955), pp.116-143, gives a detailed exposition of the attitudes in the Greek speaking world to Art and shows how it was only with the conversion of Constantine that a Christian Art really developed. Even then, there were the two iconoclastic controversies in the fourth and seventh centuries. The great fear seems to have been of single figures of Christ or one of the Apostles, which in a pagan world used to statues in religion might have been given the wrong interpretation. This worry can be seen in the writings of Eusebius, who in a letter to the emperor's sister Constantia, condemns her request for a picture of Christ, yet appears to be quite happy with a scenic representation of Daniel in the Lion's Den, erected by Constantine on one of the fountains of Constantinople (Baynes, op. cit., 121f.).

In the West, however, the situation was much less fraught. The paintings of the catacombs date from the second century and the literary evidence, with the exception of Lactantius, appears to condemn idolatry, but not all art because of that. Tertullian, for instance, in De. Idol. 14, disapproves only in so far as art ministers to pagan worship: Lactantius, by contrast, condemns it without any

extenuation (Div. Inst. 2.18). Augustine's attitude is therefore in accord with the Western tradition. He takes the danger of idolatry seriously, but places it in the category of things which are superfluous or luxuries, rather than alongside the blatantly idolatrous arts of chapters 30 - 36, like astrology, which are to be avoided at all costs. But perhaps because of his own lack of appreciation of Art, as well as fear of idolatry and misinterpretation, he is not willing to concede as much as Gregory the Great, who in a letter to Serenus, Bishop of Massilia, advises him to treat the subject gently, remembering that painting can do for the illiterate, what writing can do for those who can read:

> Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturae historiam quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt. Unde et praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.
>
> (Ep. 13)

39.6. Milia denique ..... instituta sunt: as one of the reasons for condemning art was its representation of the myths of the pagan gods, it is natural that Augustine's next category of superfluous institutions should be fictae fabulae (cf. above, 39.3(a)). These would include any works of classical authors which described such fictae fabulae. For in Conf. 1.13.22 he bewails his childhood attachment to Vergil, instead of God, and describes the Aeneid and other literature as poetica illa figmenta. On the same basis theatrical plays and mime would also be condemned.

39.10. Commoda vero ..... placuit: Augustine had no objection per se to conformity in dress to fashion and social status. In D.C. 3.19-20, when warning of the dangers in charging men with sin without due consideration of the social customs of the time, he uses fashion as an example:

> Sicut enim talares et manicatas tunicas habere apud Romanos veteres flagitium erat, nunc autem honesto loco natis, cum tunicati sunt, non eas habere flagitium est .....

And in reply to Possidius, Bishop of Calama, he advises caution in forbidding gold jewellery and fine clothes (Ep. 245.1). However, in the same letter, he does state objections to hairdressing and the use of cosmetics. As regards the former, he follows the teaching of St. Paul, and believes that women's hair should be covered, whether they are married or single; as for the latter, all cosmetics are a form of immoral deceit and Augustine considers that even husbands, for whom alone women ought to adorn themselves, do not wish to be deceived in this way.

The keynote in his attitude to dress for Christians is simplicity, rather than style, and while the advice which he gives on the matter is similar to that of all the Western Fathers he is gentler in his condemnation than, for instance, Jerome (see S. Dill, op. cit., pp.129f.), and much more ready to accept the society of his time, as the placing of dress in the category necessaria indicates. For married Christian women he advises the ordinary dress of a matrona, which, though distinct from the garments of a widow, befits Christian decorum (Ep. 262.10). The nuns of Hippo do not seem to have worn any distinctive garb; he merely advocates that their clothes be inconspicuous and that their heads be covered (Ep. 211.10). He himself was in the habit of wearing a dark coloured birrus as his outer garment, which did become distinctive around Hippo and marked him out as a servus Dei (Enarr. in Ps. 147.8). The birrus was also the general dress of the artisans and lower classes (see Van der Meer, op. cit., p.389).

The most distinctive change in the style of dress which marked

official status between the classical period and the Empire was the increasing disuse of the toga, except for the Emperor and consuls who wore it as official dress only. The more usual dress was a long sleeved tunica with clavi and a pallium or paenula on top. Length denoted rank and occupation, to the knee for manual workers and full length for the upper classes.

For a description and illustrations of dress from the third to sixth centuries A.D., see M. Houston, Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume (London, 1947), pp.120-134.

As far as ecclesiastical dress is concerned, there were no special vestments at this period: the ordinary dress of the day was worn, but clean clothes were to be put on for liturgical use:

> ... 'sed ponent vestimenta sua intrinsecus quibus induuntur quando ministrant in templi adytis; sancta enim sunt, et ad eos qui perfectam non habent sanctitatem non debent proferri; accipientque alia vestimenta et sic procedunt ad populum.'
>
> ... per quae discimus, non cotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitae communis pollutis vestibus nos ingredi debere sancta sanctorum, sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta.
>
> (Jerome, Comm. in Ezek. 42.14; 44.19)

For a discussion of Ecclesiastical dress, see H. Norris, Church Vestments, their origin and development (London, 1949).

The wearing of purple was limited exclusively to the emperor (Cod. Theod. 10.21) and mime actresses, by a decree of 393 (Cod. Theod. 15.7.11), were forbidden to wear gems, silk adorned with figures or gilded textiles.

40.1. Sed haec ..... retinenda: Augustine emphasises his different attitude to these institutions of men by the similarity of expression

between

nequaquam est fugienda christiano

and

penitus sunt repudianda et fugienda christiano

(36.4)

40.8. ea vero ..... disputavimus: he discusses this in chapters 16 - 22.

40.13. Ex eo genere ..... impedimento: it was the general practice in antiquity for a prose author to dictate his works or to give a speech/sermon ex tempore, which might then be written down. The notarii, shorthand writers, were thus indispensable. Seneca tells of:

verborum notas quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur.

(Ep. 90.25)

cf. Prudentius, Peristephanon 9.23-24:

Verba notis brevibus comprendere cuncta peritus,
raptimque punctis dicta praepetibus sequi.

(Pliny, Ep. III.5.15; Suet., Titus 3; Paulus, Dig. 29.1.40; Ausonius, Epigr. 146 also mention the use of notarii; see Sherwin White's note on Pliny).

Augustine, like any important ecclesiastic, would have a staff of notarii at his disposal. He also had some librarii who would give him fair copies for correction (see Van der Meer, pp.414ff.; Sr. M.E. Keenan, The Life and Times of St. Augustine as Revealed in His Letters. (Washington, 1935), pp.29ff.) They were obviously an indispensable aid: his works would not have been written without them, cf. Ep., 172.2 of Jerome to Augustine, where he excuses himself for not carrying out work recommended by Augustine, lamenting the fact that there are few notarii in Palestine acquainted with Latin.

Most of Augustine's free time was spent in dictating and he would often give up his sleep to do it, e.g. Ep. 224.2;

> ... ut operi utrique non deessem, uni diebus, alteri noctibus, quando mihi ab aliis occupationibus hinc atque hinc venire non desistentibus parceretur.

The complaint about pressing business all too often taking both himself and his notarii away from books he would like to have been writing is a frequent refrain cf. Ep. 139.3; 169.13.

It was in the Late Empire that shorthand became common, though its existence can be traced back perhaps as far as the late fourth century B.C. Cicero's freedman Tiro is often credited with its invention in the Latin world, but as Marrou (2), p.415 says, it is difficult, given the state of the evidence, to know whether he invented a completely new system or simply made an adaptation of a Greek system already in existence.

There were various different systems of shorthand, e.g. Acropolic and Egyptian, which like their modern counterparts operated by distinguishing vowels and consonants. The Romans appear to have used a system of abbreviation and Seneca is said to have stated that the number of abbreviations had been reduced to five thousand (Isid. Etymol. 1.22).

The use of shorthand in the Empire was extended to keep up with the administrative system, and it was from this use in the Civil Service that it spread to the Christian Church. It is thanks to the notarii that so many of the sermons of the Fathers have been preserved.
On shorthand, see Marrou (2), pp.145f.; Weinberger's article, RE Kurzschrift.

References, Abbreviations and Bibliography

1. References

(a) Text: for the commentary the Corpus Christianorum text has been used. Chapter references are to the Arabic numeral paragraphing in that edition. Line references are to each of these chapters, but do not follow the line references given in the CC text, as these are determined by the Roman numeral chapter divisions.

(b) Patristic Texts: the particular editions referred to in the commentary for patristic authors are listed in section (A) of the bibliography.

(c) Bible: specific biblical references are to the Vulgate, unless otherwise stated. The standard English names for biblical books are used on occasion for the sake of clarity.

2. Abbreviations

Abbreviations for periodicals follow the style of L'Année philologique, for the Vulgate, Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary.

Other abbreviations used are:

A.V. : Authorised Version of the Bible

CC : Corpus Christianorum (Brussels, 1954-)

CSEL : Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866-)

DC : De Doctrina Christiana

DS : C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments. (Paris, 1877-1919)

ERE : J. Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Edinburgh, 1908-1926)

GCS : Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller (Leipzig)

GL : Grammatici Latini ed. H. Keil (Leipzig, 1857-80)

LXX : Septuagint Translation of the Bible

N.T. : New Testament

OCD : Oxford Classical Dictionary 2nd edition (Oxford, 1970)

OLD : Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1968-)

O.T. : Old Testament

PG : J.P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca

PL : J.P. Migne, Patrologia Latina

RE : Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart, 1893-)

R.V. : Revised Version of the Bible

SC : Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1942-)

TLL : Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig, 1900-)

TWNT : Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stüttgart, 1933-)

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De decretis Nicaenae Synodis PG 25

Ep. Heort. Epistolae Heortasticae PG 26

ATHENAGORAS

Leg.	Legatio	(Oxford, 1972)

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Hom. in Gen.	Homiliae in Genesim	PG 53-54

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Strom.	Stromata	GCS 1-8

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

Ep. ad Constantium	Epistula ad Constantium	PG 33
Cat.	Catechisi ed. W. Reischl (Monaci, 1848) vol.1.	

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Chron.	Chronicorum Libri Duo	PG 19
H.E.	Historia Ecclesiastica	GCS 1-5 (1903) 6-10 (1908)
Onomasticon		GCS (1904)
Praep. Evang.	Praeparatio Evangelica	GCS 1-10 (1954) 11-15 (1956)

EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH

De Engastrymutho		PG 18

GREGORY NAZIANZEN

Carm.	Carmina	PG 37
Ep.	Epistulae	PG 37

GREGORY OF NYSSA

De Pythonissa		PG 45
Vita Moysi		PG 44

HIPPOLYTUS

Refut.	Refutatio Omnium Haeresium	GCS (1916)

IRENAEUS

Haer.	Contra Haereses	PG 7

JUSTIN MARTYR

Apol.	Apologia Pro Christianis	PG 6
Dial.	Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo	PG 6

ORIGEN		
Cantic.	Origen: In Canticum Canticorum	PG 13
Comm. in Joh.	Commentarius in Johannem	GCS (1903)
Comm. in Matt.	Commentarius in Mattheum	GCS (1941)
Contra Cels.	Contra Celsum	GCS (1899)
De Princ.	De Principiis	GCS (1913)
Ep. ad Greg.	Epistula ad Gregorium	PG 11
Ep. ad Afric.	Epistula ad Africanum de Susannae historia	PG 11
Homilia in librum Regum		PG 12
Homil. in Jerem.	Homilia in Jeremiam	GCS (1901)
Philocalia	ed., J.A. Robinson (Cambridge, 1893)	
Sel. in Psa.	Selecta in Psalmos	PG 12
SIBYLLINE ORACLE		GCS (1902)
TATIAN		
Orat.	Oratio adversus Graecos	PG 6
THEODORET		
Cant.	Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum	PG 81
Interpr. in Psa.	Interpretatio in Psalmos	PG 80

(2) Latin Fathers

AMBROSE		
Hexaem.	Hexaemeron	PL 14
De Noe et Arca		PL 14
De Virg.	De Virginibus	PL 16
Orat. de obitu Theodos.	Oratio de obitu Theodosii.	PL 16
ANSELM		
De Fide Trin.	De Fide Trinitatis	PL 158
ARNOBIUS		
Adv. Gentes	Adversus Gentes	PL 5

AUGUSTINE

Civ. Dei.	De Civitate Dei	CC 47-48
Conf.	Confessiones	CSEL 33
Contra Litt. Paet.	Contra Litteras Paetiliani	CSEL 52
Contra Partem Donati Post Gesta		CSEL 53
DC	De Doctrina Christiana	CC 32 CSEL 80
De Cat. Rud.	De Catechizandis Rudibus	CC 46
De Con. Evang.	De Consensu Evangelistarum	CSEL 43
De Dial.	De Dialectica ed. B.D. Jackson (Holland, 1975)	
De Div. Daem.	De Divinatione Daemonorum	PL 40
De Div. Quaest.	De Diversis Quaestionibus	CC 44a
De Fid. et Sym.	De Fide et Symbolo	PL 40
De Gen. ad Litt.	De Genesi ad Litteram	CSEL 28
De Haer.	De Haeresibus	CC 46
De Lib. Arbit.	De Libero Arbitrio	CC 29
De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus		CC 44a
De Op. Monach.	De Opere Monachorum	PL 40
De Mag.	De Magistro	CC 29
De Quant. Anim.	De Quantitate Animae	PL 32
De Spirit. et Lit.	De Spiritu et Littera	PL 44
De Trin.	De Trinitate	CC 50,50a
Ench.	Enchiridion	CC 46
Enarr. in Ps.	Enarrationes in Psalmos	CC 38-40
Ep.	Epistulae	CSEL 34,44,57,58
Ep. ad Catholicas	Epistula ad Catholicas de Secta Donatistarum	CSEL 52
Locut. in Hept.	Locutiones in Heptateuchum	CC 33
Quaest. ad Simpl.	De Diversis Quaestionibus ad Simplicianum	CC 44
Quaest. in Hept.	Quaestiones in Heptateuchum	CC 33

Retract.	Retractationes	CSEL 36
Speculum		CSEL 12
Tract. in Joh.	In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus	CC 36
Serm.	Sermones	PL 38-39
De Praed. Sanctorum	De Praedestinatione Sanctorum	PL 44
Contra Acad.	Contra Academicos	CC 29
CASSIODORUS		
Exp. in Ps.	Expositio Psalmorum	CC 97-98
CHROMATIUS		
Beat.	Sermo de octo Beatitudinibus	PL 20
CYPRIAN		
De Hab. Virg.	De Habitu Virginum	CSEL 3
De Montibus Sina et Sion		PL 4.11
GREGORY THE GREAT		
Dial.	Dialogi	PL 77
Mor.	Moralia	PL 75
HILARY		
Tract. in Ps.	Tractatus in Psalmos	CSEL 22
ISIDORE		
Etymol.	Etymologiarum Libri	(Oxford, 1957)
JEROME		
Comm. in Isa.	Commentarius in Isaiam	CC 72-73A
Adv. Pelag.	Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos	PL 23
Ep.	Epistulae	CSEL 54-56
Ep. ad Dardanum	Epistula ad Dardanum	PL 30
Ep. LVII ad Pammachium	Epistula LVII ad Pammachium	PL 22
Liber de Situ et Nom.	Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum	PL 23
Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum		CC 72
Praef. in Pent.	Praefatio in Pentateuchum	PL 28

Praef. in Sam. et Mal.	Praefatio in libros Samuel et Malachim	PL 28
Praef. in Ezr.	Praefatio in Ezram	PL 28
Tract. in Ps.	Tractatus in Psalmos	CC 78

JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA

In Johannem		PL 122

LACTANTIUS

Div. Inst.	Divinae Institutiones	CSEL 19,27,1-2.

LEO MAGNUS

Serm.	Sermones	PL 54

PAULINUS OF NOLA

Ep.	Epistolae	PL 61

TERTULLIAN

Ad Nat.	Ad Nationes	CC 1
Adv. Marc.	Adversus Marcionem	CC 1
Apol.	Apologeticum	CC 1
Cor.	De Corona Militis	CC 2
De Cultu Fem.	De Cultu Feminarum	CC 1
De Pud.	De Pudicitia	CC 2
De Virg. Vel.	De Virginibus Velandis	CC 2
Praescr.	De Praescriptione Haereticorum	CC 1
Idol.	De Idolatria	CC 2
Spect.	De Spectaculis	CC 1

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Contra Faustum	CSEL	25
De Utilitate Credendi	CSEL	25

CASSIAN

De Institutis Coenobiorum	SC	109

CASSIODORUS

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